The Forum

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HOW SHALL PUERTO RICO BE GOVERNED?

THE position of Puerto Rico since the Spanish evacuation of October, 1898, has been anomalous. When the old sovereignty ended the new might be supposed to have begun; but nothing has yet been settled as respects the government the island is to have, or the commercial position it is to occupy. The people of our new possession may be pardoned for being not only curious, but terribly anxious, to know what their fate is to be. Interregnums can scarcely be otherwise than extremely trying; and it is bad policy to prolong them beyond the point of necessity. That point in the case before us has not yet been passed; but it will be if Congress, which meets next month, closes its first session without providing a form of civil government for Puerto Rico. The last Congress could not well take up the question, in the few weeks which remained of its limited life, after the Treaty of Paris had been duly ratified; and action prior to the formal transfer of the sovereignty would have been premature.

The people were not reluctant to have their allegiance to Spain broken off; they were both ready and anxious to transfer it to the United States; but this opportunity has really not yet been given to them. They are not fully citizens of the United States. They are simply occupants of territory belonging to us; obeying their military rulers and receiving our protection. Puertoricans visiting Cuba or other islands do not receive regular passports, but certificates showing that they are residents of Puerto Rico and may claim our protection. Their vessels are not entitled to American registry; and their right to fly the

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American flag in foreign ports is by sufferance. They are under military government; and such rights and privileges as they enjoy are by virtue of the power of the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. The municipal elections which are soon to take place will be under the direction of officers of the army.

Every Puertorican looks forward eagerly to the end of the military *régime*. This is so, not because military rule is oppressive, for it has been benign, considerate of native interests, and helpful; but because they want to have their civil status fixed, to know what their civil rights are to be, to have permanent conditions established, and especially to have a market opened to them. Since American occupation they have been completely isolated commercially. Spanish ports were, of course, immediately closed to them, except on terms given to all other foreign commerce; that is, they must pay full customs duties where they had hitherto paid slight duties on some articles and none at all on others. Cuba, which had been a good market for their cheaper grades of coffee and for tobacco, also erected a customs barrier against Puertorican products. They were willing enough to take the United States for their market instead of Spain and Spanish colonies; but they had no access to our ports, save through the custom-houses.

The President, by virtue of being the head of our armed forces, could and did modify the Puertorican tariff; but he could not modify that of the United States; and everything on the dutiable list of our tariff, whether from Puerto Rico, Cuba, Spain, or any other country, must pay duty. The only free market the Puertorican has for his products is the island market. All the rest of the world is closed to him. He cannot even buy in a free market; everything he buys as well as everything he sells being subject to duties. This is the penalty of independence; but Puerto Rico is not, and does not want to be, independent. She wants such commercial relations with us as Alaska, New Mexico, and Arizona have, and desires a territorial form of government.

I am of the opinion that we cannot refuse these reasonable requests without doing great injustice to Puerto Rico. It must be remembered that we sought Puerto Rico; for Puerto Rico did not seek us. We wrested her from the sovereignty of Spain, without asking her if she desired to change her allegiance. We were of the opinion that she was not justly treated by Spain; that she was governed in the interests of the mother country solely; that she was oppressed and overtaxed and denied a proper measure of home rule; and that in consequence we were serving the cause of humanity in breaking the chains that bound

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her. This was what the Puertoricans thought also. They welcomed our troops and our control. They were glad to turn their backs on the history of the past, and begin under the glorious Republic of the North a new and more prosperous career. They are disappointed, perhaps unreasonably, that their new life has not already begun ; they are eagerly expectant. They look to the President to recommend, and to Congress to adopt, a system of government which will make the island a Territory, equal in rank and rights and privileges to existing Territories.

They ought not to be disappointed without the best and strongest of reasons. Three reasons are mentioned in opposition to the granting of territorial government to Puerto Rico. First, admission as a Territory implies ultimate admission to statehood ; and statehood for islands separated as Hawaii and Puerto Rico are by from 1,200 to 2,500 miles from the United States is not to be thought of for a moment. Second, territorial organization involves the relinquishment of customs duties ; and the cane- and tobacco-growers of our West India possession would have free access to the markets of the United States, and thus come into injurious competition with our own farmers. Third, the people of Puerto Rico are not competent for the measure of self-government which the territorial system provides. I shall deal with these arguments in turn.

The statehood question is really not in issue. The power that creates Territories also admits States ; and Territories cannot come into the Union when and as they will, but only when in the judgment of Congress they ought to be admitted. Congress was severely arraigned for admitting so many States in the Northwest. But it must be conceded, I think, that they are fairly entitled to statehood ; and that, aside from their position on a certain political question, which has divided parties, no possible objection could be urged against them. The single State, Nevada, which has not justified expectation in development, was admitted in 1864. But if inclination to favor what the majority regard as a dangerous financial heresy is a valid argument why the newer States of the Northwest should not have been admitted, what shall be said of the older States of the Middle West and South, which ranged themselves on the same side in 1896? Public sentiment is no doubt conservative on the subject of admitting new States ; and Congress is not likely to disregard it. In the last ten years only one new State has been created. New Mexico has been a Territory for nearly fifty years, Arizona for nearly thirty-seven ; and they are Ter-

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ritories yet. The former had a population of more than 153,000 in 1890, and probably has well on toward 200,000 now. Its claims have been strongly urged again and again; but Congress has not been moved. Oklahoma has a splendid case; but even Oklahoma will be kept waiting awhile.

There is no fear that what has been withheld so long from New Mexico and Arizona will be rashly given to Hawaii or Puerto Rico. Moreover, so far as the power of Congress goes, it could admit these islands to statehood just as well if they were called colonies, or provinces, or dependencies. The Constitution does not say that only Territories formally organized as such may be admitted to the Union; but simply that "new States may be admitted by Congress to this Union." Therefore, the question whether territorial government, such as Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma enjoy, shall be given to our island possessions should not be complicated with that of statehood. We do not need to promise statehood to them; we certainly ought not to forbid them to aspire to statehood. It is an honorable aspiration and would put them on their best behavior. The issue itself is so remote, that it is not necessary for us to concern ourselves with it now.

The second argument against the granting of territorial government is a selfish and short-sighted one. To shut the people of Puerto Rico out of our markets would be not simply cruel, but ruinous treatment. Their chief industry is agriculture. It is impossible for them to preserve that industry unless they have a free market somewhere for their sugar, tobacco, and fruits. We have caused the ports of Spain and Cuba to be closed against them; and we must open our own in compensation, unless we are willing to eclipse Spain in inhumanity. This is not only a humane, it is a statesmanlike, policy. If we maintain our tariff against Puertorican imports, we must pay at the island custom-houses for all our exports. If, on the other hand, we open our ports to its productions, its ports will be open to our machinery, foodstuffs, fabrics, and the many other articles which the islanders need and would take from us in exchange for their sugar, tobacco, coffee, fruits, and vegetables.

We can make that market a tenfold better market than it ever was to Spain, by developing the prosperity of the people. Extreme poverty is now the lot of the majority. Consequently they are small consumers. The merchants estimated, early in 1898, that of the 900,000 inhabitants only about 200,000 wear shoes; that of these 50,000 wear but one pair a year; 50,000 two pairs; 50,000 three pairs; and 50,000

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four pairs; making a total consumption of only 500,000 pairs a year.

Give the agricultural producers good markets, and they will be able to pay better wages. The area of production would be vastly increased; and with better and more economical methods, the fertile soil will yield such crops of cane, coffee, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables that there will be a demand for labor, and idle peasants will be few and far between. The *peones* will not then be satisfied with the poorest cotton fabrics and with an almost exclusive vegetable diet; they will not wear *pacotilla* or shoddy shoes, or go barefoot; they will not shelter themselves from the rains with banana leaves instead of umbrellas; they will have plates for their food instead of taking it direct from their one cooking vessel; they will have knives and forks, metal spoons and ladles, instead of pieces of gourd; chairs in their houses instead of rude boxes or nothing at all; houses instead of thatched huts; when they are sick they will not be deprived of medical care, but will have the service of doctors; and when they die they will not be tumbled into the grave without even a box, but in coffins. We shall get our winter vegetables from Puerto Rico instead of Bermuda; our oranges, when the frosts kill the crop in Florida, from a country where the orange tree never fails, unless injured by the hurricane, which comes about once in a generation. If we deal generously with Puerto Rico we will get liberal returns; if in a niggard spirit, we must not expect prosperity or profit.

As a matter of fact, free Puertorican sugar and tobacco will not greatly disturb the market, if the entire crop comes in free. The island's export of sugar is to our production of cane and sorghum sugar as one to six; and its export of tobacco as one to one hundred and eighty-two. As to the tobacco, it is very different from that which is raised in this country; and if we get it we shall manufacture it and send much of it back to Puerto Rico in that form. Formerly the bulk of the crop went to Cuba to be made into cigars. Our farmers will not be hurt by allowing Puertorican produce to come in free. They were not hurt when Oklahoma was opened to extensive agriculture.

We now come to the third and most serious objection to territorial government for our new West Indian possession. It is said that the people are not competent for self-government; that they are without experience in conducting civil affairs; and that the majority are unprepared to assume the responsibilities of the franchise, to say nothing of office, on account of illiteracy. It is perfectly true that they have

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not been trained in a good governmental school, and that the important positions under the Insular Government were held by men sent over from Madrid ; but it is not true that the Puertorican, by which term the native is designated, has not had any experience in government. He served in various positions in the seventy municipal districts, and has occupied not a few subordinate posts under the Provincial Government. If he did not participate extensively in the government of his own island, his interests were nevertheless at stake ; and he followed the acts of the Insular Administration with great vigilance. The Spaniards who held the most important offices were looked upon as foreigners ; and Spaniards and Puertoricans formed distinct and more or less antagonistic elements of the population. You will find few Puertoricans, except among the peasants, who are not able to talk intelligently of their governmental affairs, and who cannot readily point out the features of the system which most need to be reformed.

If any one supposes that the people who are now under our flag are a dull, heavy, densely ignorant, boorish people, his idea is utterly wrong. The great majority are undoubtedly illiterate. From 75 to 80 per cent of the entire population are not able to read and write. Of course infants could not be expected to do either. Women have had less opportunity to learn than men. The rural schools for girls are few in number and poor in quality ; and the great body of them are among the illiterate. There is a larger proportion of men, therefore, who have some education than the percentage named would indicate. The artisans, many of whom are colored, are generally able to read and write. Of a delegation of eleven representatives of the trades, who called at my headquarters in San Juan, to speak about their condition and aspirations, nine were colored men ; and all but one wrote their names and addresses, and all spoke intelligently. The people, both white and black, are naturally intelligent. Persons who have no education, as we know from observation in our own country, may, nevertheless, have large intelligence. We have known illiterate men who have made excellent school trustees, and who served satisfactorily as selectmen in educated and thrifty New England towns.

The Puertorican is mentally acute. The children learn with surprising ease and quickness. Boys and girls eight and ten years of age will do a sum in long division on the board without showing the process ; doing the multiplying and subtracting mentally, and only setting down the figures of the quotient with the remainder. I have talked with men and women in the poor quarters of several cities and towns,

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have seen the peasant in the field and in the market place, and did not find one with slow wits or dense ignorance of ordinary affairs. A workingman told me of a class of laborers he had formed in Arecibo who studied at night to prepare themselves for the educational test required for the franchise. He said they made rapid progress in learning to read.

The fact of illiteracy is not due to lack of intelligence, but rather to lack of opportunity, and the lack, also, of a stimulus. The peasant has not been able to see how he could improve his condition by education. The mercantile and the banking business were almost exclusively in the hands of the Peninsular Spaniards. It was next to impossible for a native to get a position of any kind in one of these houses. They preferred young men from Spain, relatives if they had them. These young men would begin at the lowest round in the ladder, sleep in the store, live in the most economical fashion, and trust to experience and opportunity for advancement, which seldom failed to come. When the heads of the house returned to Spain with a competency, to live the rest of their days in "Gracia," the newer part of Barcelona, the clerks would succeed to the business.

A Puertorican who has a large and paying business in San Juan says it was with the greatest difficulty that he found a chance for himself with a Spanish firm. There was apparently no chance anywhere for the peasant. If by the greatest possible good luck he got steady work, and lived so as to save something, he was likely to be made the victim of some unprincipled, covetous neighbor, who had property and influence. When a poor man was compelled to part with his cow because he could not raise eight pesos to pay the alleged tax on her, and she became the property of a rogue at half price, peasants would say, "What is the use? Better have no belongings; we will spend as we go." They saw nothing to be gained by stinting and starving themselves to educate their children. The system was against them; and government and wealth seemed in league to prevent them from rising. The high rate of illiteracy in Puerto Rico is not due to the unwillingness or inability of the people to learn, or to their indifference, but to conditions from which they could not extricate themselves.

I unhesitatingly affirm, in full view of all that can be said on the other side, that the Puertoricans are fit for the measure of self-government involved in the territorial system. The system is an admirable one. The more it is studied the clearer will its excellent features appear. It is at once simple, liberal, and safe. It provides, in brief, for a governor, other territorial officers, and a judiciary, to be appointed by

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the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate; for the removal of governor or secretary by the President, when necessary; for a legislature in two branches, to be elected by the people; for county and municipal governments the same as in States; for a gubernatorial veto; as a further safeguard, for the submission of the legislative acts to the President, the Secretary of the Interior, and both houses of Congress; and for the payment of territorial salaries from the Federal Treasury, to which the customs and internal revenue receipts go.

It is true that the people of a Territory do not vote for President and Vice-President, nor for Congressmen (they may have a delegate in Congress, without vote), nor for their own territorial officers; but they pass laws, control municipal and county governments, and establish and maintain schools, roads, and other civil institutions. Congress has never limited the suffrage in any Territory by any educational or property qualification. Our Territories under this system have given us no trouble, excepting Utah; and they have not complained, so far as I remember, that their rights and privileges are too much restricted.

I think our people in the West Indies are to be trusted. I am sure there is no risk in giving them territorial government similar to that of New Mexico and Oklahoma. I believe they are both loyal and conservative. They are not revolutionary, as their history shows. They have given Spain no trouble. When the Venezuelans freed themselves they would have freed the Puertoricans also; but the latter repelled them, and would not rise in rebellion. They did not want independence, because that would make them the prey of covetous, rapacious Powers. They have submitted all these years to the rigorous rule of Spain; hoping that in some way, at some time, the great American eagle might take them under its sheltering wings. They are not a warlike people like the Cubans. They are not violent by nature; and violent crimes are by no means characteristic of them. There are homicides and infanticides, but not in as large proportion to population as in our own country; there is much petty thieving, but burglaries are almost unknown. They have great respect for the law, and the general testimony is that they are easily governed. They are a shrewd people; and politicians, it is said, make the most of official position.

The Puertoricans have their vices; in this they are not different from the rest of mankind. They have never cared for the bull-ring; but they enjoy cock-fights, and especially the opportunity of betting on them. They are generally addicted to gambling; and during certain festivals men, women, and children give themselves up to a mild

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form of the vice. The peasant often gambles away his week's wages, in the vain hope of adding to them; and a few instances are reported of the loss of valuable estates at the gaming table. The worst gambling places in San Juan have, I am told, been introduced since American occupation, for the benefit of temporary residents from the United States.

When I say that Puertoricans will make good American citizens, I mean to say that they have strong moral qualities, and that they deplore the social and civic evils which have long had place among them. They aspire to better things in society, in State, and in church. They want purer, more liberal, and more efficient government; more schools and better schools; improved industrial conditions, so that the peasant may have more of the comforts and conveniences of life; the restoration of religion to its position of commanding influence over the morals of the people; honest and able men in positions of power, that civil office may be honored and civic virtues rewarded; the establishment of the institutions which have made the United States a great and enlightened and powerful Republic. Are not these worthy aspirations? Can a people hold them and not be the better for it?

The only hopeless conditions are those which men are content to have continued. Puertoricans are not lazy. They are willing to work when they can get it. They are quick and active in their movements; and it is amazing that they can endure the wearing labor of the cane or tobacco field through the long, hot days on so meagre a diet. They are polite in their manners, uniformly kind to one another, and count it a happiness to be able to do any one a favor. They are slandered when they are called treacherous. If they ever possessed the fierce, revengeful passions attributed to the people of Southern Europe, the insular atmosphere, in the course of generations, has made them quite mild. They are singularly susceptible to good influences; and a good example would be the best gospel to give them.

Those who raise the question of fitness for self-government doubtless have a very high standard in view. I must not be understood as contending that Puertoricans will be just as capable and steady and self-reliant when they become American citizens as those of most of our States. They have much to learn in every way. But is it not best for them to learn under the pressure of responsibility? No matter if they do make mistakes; our own history is marked by errors and evils. It was the effort to overcome and eradicate them that made us strong, and that justifies our confidence in our ability to cope with the manifold difficulties and dangers that beset us.

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While in San Juan I was visited by an American who is giving much attention to the methods by which the world is governed ; and he not only doubted the wisdom of giving Puertoricans a part in the government of their island, but contended that few nations are fit to govern themselves. He mentioned France as an example, and considered that the Republic is a failure ; the people are not prepared for it. If we hold up the ideal, and measure all achievements by it, we shall, no doubt, reach the conclusion that the world is badly governed, and that man is a failure. But as we cannot translate him to an ideal state, and cannot by miracle make him an ideal being, we must deal with him as we find him ; allowing for his defects, relying on his capacity for development, and encouraging by every means his ascent, however slow, to higher planes of life and conduct and achievement.

I am one of those Republicans who have large faith in man's capacity, in whatever state of civilization he may exist, to establish and maintain a system of law and order, varying in completeness and perfection according to conditions and environments. And as an American citizen, I am not willing so far to discredit our own form of government as to say that it is suitable only to the few most advanced nations. Nor do I see how we can deny men the right to participate in their own government, even though it is below the ideal, without coming dangerously near to the espousal of principles which would justify slavery. The corner-stone of our Republic is government by consent of the governed.

The question of universal, or manhood, suffrage is yet a somewhat open one. Many of our own States are qualifying its exercise by educational and property tests. If these should be applied to Puerto Rico, the right to vote would be in the hands of the few ; and the many would be disfranchised. Such restrictions appear to me as of doubtful wisdom. Congress has not applied them to the Territories, though it had as much reason to do so in the cases of New Mexico and Arizona as it has in that of Puerto Rico. The rate of illiteracy in New Mexico is still 44 per cent, after the lapse of nearly fifty years. Spain, with 72 per cent of illiterates, established universal suffrage by the electoral law of 1890, to which a property qualification was attached for Cuba and Puerto Rico. In its autonomist system, however, it extended the suffrage to both the islands as in force in its own provinces ; and men above twenty-five years of age could vote for members of their municipal governments, of the Provincial Deputation and legislature, and of the two houses of the Cortes at Madrid. We criticised that system

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and held that it did not concede enough. We justified the Cubans in rejecting it. Congress declared that Cuba ought to be free and independent. We are going, in obedience to our pledge, to start the Cubans on a career of independent self-government. Shall we now take the position that Cuba is competent to govern herself independently of Spain or of the United States, and that Puerto Rico, with a far more peaceable population, and with no higher rate of illiteracy, is not competent to govern herself, under the control of the Federal Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments? We cannot do less than Spain did and justify ourselves and our part in the late war in the eyes of the world, to say nothing of the reasonable expectations of the people of that island.

There are signs that a prolongation of the military *régime* for two or three years will be proposed, under the plea of preparing the people for the responsibilities and duties of self-government. If this be done, it will be done against the protest of the Puertoricans themselves, and will continue the present crisis till the ruin of the island is made complete, unless the question of *cabotage*, or free coast-wise trade, is settled at once. Military force is not required to preserve order there; no incipient revolutions call for armed troops; beyond garrisons for the forts, soldiers are not needed; and wherein the military *régime* is superior to the civil in training men in the art of government I do not perceive. There is ample power with the Federal Government to intervene, if occasion should require, under a civil system. We shall have, I assume, an American governor. This is expected and desired. Americans will doubtless occupy, at least for one term, a few other positions. Many Americans will become residents of the island, and in due time find their way into public life. No Federal interests will be put in jeopardy by the immediate extension of territorial government to Puerto Rico, whose present industrial and commercial position is critical and cannot be too quickly adjusted to permanent conditions.

Señor Pi y Margall, in a speech in the Senate at Madrid, advocating the sale of the Carolines and other remaining colonies, admitted that Spain had failed in her colonial policy. He spoke of the humiliation she had been compelled to endure, and added that her greatest shame was yet to come, in seeing the United States accomplish in a few years what she had not been able to bring about in centuries. It is to be hoped that the action of Congress at its coming session will justify the Spanish statesman's confidence. H. K. Carroll.

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SPAIN, LIVING OR DYING?

PHILIP II, son and successor of the great Charles, was, as man and ruler, *sui generis*. A modern biographer says he possessed a mental obliquity, an unshakable belief that he was in some sort a junior partner with Providence. As he lay dying in the Escorial, monument of his folly and fanaticism, he said to his son, who alone was with him :

"The King's crown is already falling from my brow, and death will place it on yours. Two things I especially commend to you : One is, that you keep always faithful to the Holy Catholic Church ; and the other is, that you treat your subjects justly. This crown will some day fall away from your head as it now falls from mine."

The vast and scattered territories of Charles V became the heritage of his son ; and he was thus burdened, as King of Spain, with dominions and suzerainties in Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, and with a constant rivalry with Turks and Algerines. Besides ceaseless conflict as a Mediterranean power, he was cursed with a foreign policy in every corner of Europe. To these add the new dominions in America, which had been a consequence of its discovery and of papal assignment of sovereignty. These extraordinary territorial dependencies make one's head dizzy, as he reads of court intrigues, of connubial infelicities, of prodigal briberies, of religious wars and persecutions, of oppression and taxation.

The policy of the rulers, the kernel of the system, was that of centralization. It was one of repression, interference, subjection, keeping natives in inferiority to the "classes" at home. Worthless and illegitimate sons of the aristocracy were provided for. All other men were used merely as instruments for carrying out these ends ; *i.e.*, for promoting the ambitious and fanatical schemes of the crown and of its satellites and pensioners. There was no tolerance of autonomy in the dependencies and colonies. Such a system leads invariably, inevitably, to injustice, misrule, corruption. Patronage became a scandalous use of office to enrich favorites. Judges were bought, and the administration was a sink of iniquity. The maladministration continued to this century. A centralized power dominated over possessions ; and no effort was made to train them for independence or self-government. The

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possibility of future separation was scouted as treason. In course of time, aroused by wrongs, South and Central America and Mexico revolutionized, resisted the control from beyond the seas, and established separate and independent governments.

The Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in 1892, in a highly suggestive address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, discussed the question whether any benefit had resulted to mankind through Spanish rule in America ; and he challenged the production of a single good thing in law, or science, or art, or literature as growing out of that domination. In the long struggle between constitutional institutions and absolutism, the influence of Spain—her whole weight—was thrown in favor of intellectual repression and religious persecution and against religious and political freedom. During the sixteenth century some $700,000,000 of gold and silver were drawn from America ; and this was used, in no case, to the advantage of the race of man.

Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippine and the Caroline Islands were retained under Spanish authority. The loss of the other dependencies brought no lessons of wisdom to Spain, but rather confirmed the Government in a policy of wickedness. These colonies became pasture grounds where sons of the titled and of the aristocracy could batten and grow insolent and corrupt. Instead of developing resources and making people rich and happy, slavery was prolonged and taxes were exorbitant. Official corruption was the uniform rule.

In a debate in the Spanish Cortes, in 1872, it was complained that Cuban affairs were involved in such obscurity that even in the Colonial Office no certain knowledge existed. It was deplored that no effort was made by Spain to train the colonies to be free and independent, or to unite their destinies with those of Spain on equal terms. Salmeron, one of the Presidents of the short-lived Republic, openly charged that 12,000 vultures were devouring and plundering the country, indifferent to all complaints and calamities. Whatsoever a nation sows that also will it reap. By sale the Carolines have passed under the German flag. By conquest Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines have ceased forever to be under Spanish rule. In 1898–99 the territorial area was contracted from 357,275 square miles to 196,173.

Few nations have succeeded in colonizing. England has had a wonderful success in her foreign possessions, and has displayed consummate wisdom in their government. She profited by her experience with the United States, and has evinced superlative wisdom since, in Canada, Australia, India, and Africa ; and whatever criticism may

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be passed upon some of her acts, her rule has resulted in the increased prosperity of the people. Her administration is flexible, adapted to conditions and environments ; and she ties herself by no Procrustean rule, as if all races and countries were alike fitted for *habeas corpus*, the ballot-box, universal eligibility to office, and home rule. In trade, the "open door" has proved best for the mother country and the remote peoples. Offices are generally filled by civil service rules, by the competitive system. Even this system is not enforced arbitrarily or universally. There is a marked distinction between colonies and dependencies. Australia and Canada are colonies ; India, Jamaica, etc., are dependencies. For some positions, to secure a development of the country and a satisfactory administration, men are needed of force of character, of good habits, of exact and careful education. The civil service is recruited from several classes ; and reference is had in appointments to the effectiveness of the men. Thus a class of men of the very highest type, such as Lord Dufferin, Lord Cromer, and Sir Alfred Milner, have been trained for the public service, and have demonstrated the value of such a system.

Why has Spain failed? Without entering into disputed ecclesiastical points, it may be said that Philip's advice to his son about the church has been adhered to with mischievous insistency. Such a thing as civil service is unknown. Philip laid it down as a rule that no person should be educated outside of Spain. All attempts at introducing science in any form were suppressed by the Inquisition. Education has been grossly neglected, or narrowed, at home, and therefore abroad. There are 70 per cent of illiterates in Spain, and of course a larger percentage in the colonies.

Spain has not, in her commercial regulations, passed the theories of the Middle Ages ; she has not learned that exports and imports are correlated ; that trade is barter ; and that markets must be wide and numerous. It is impossible in course of years to sell more to a country than is bought from it. To use a colony for furnishing revenue to the home country is an absurdity. Philip laid it down as a rule that no ships but Spanish should be allowed to trade in the Spanish territories in America, and went further and "protected" particular ports. Macaulay gives an instance of a Spanish vessel, laden with richest cargo, being captured by a British cruiser, because she refused to enter a safe harbor, which was unobstructed ; a law or regulation forbidding the entry of any port except Cadiz.

The restrictive policy has been continued to modern days ; and col-

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onies have been a costly luxury. In 1844 the exports were about $124,000,000; the bulk being the products of forests, fields, and mines. The sum total of manufactured products exported under a restrictive system of two centuries or more did not amount to more than $5,000,000. With an insensate thirst for gold, Spain wiped out whole nations of inoffensive Indians. To peoples anxious for wider latitude of self-government her constitutions and promises were dead letters; and nothing was allowed to interfere with the system of personal centralization upon which the Government rested. The island of Cuba was for years a heavy load on the Government. The cost of insurrections was enormous. The annual deficit in the Colonial Budgets, amounting sometimes to several millions of dollars, had to be borne by the home Government. The tenacity with which Spain held on to her colonies was a matter of sentiment, of national vanity, rather than of practical benefit. Something over one hundred years ago Florida, portions of Alabama and Louisiana, Texas, and all south to Cape Horn, excluding Brazil, were parts of the Spanish dominion. That she should surrender reluctantly the last vestige of her colonial possessions is but natural.

Her future depends on her ability to profit by the experiences of the past. Her own recent history furnishes lessons in practical politics to which she should not shut her eyes. Her colonies were always sources of weakness. There was never revenue enough from the islands to pay for the cost of military service; and both the East and the West Indies had large debts, for which their customs revenue had been heavily mortgaged. It is safe to say that the islands were all "outgo" and no "income."

Practical politics would suggest the early reform of many vicious practices in the peninsula. The manipulations in elections, which prevail in Philadelphia and New York, find a parallel in Spain. The false political economy which has kept the country in poverty can be easily changed. Italy and her African colonies tally with the history of Spain, and admonish her as to such expensive and ill-advised luxuries. Spain, like Portugal and Italy and Greece, is suffering under a heavy national indebtedness, threatening her with bankruptcy. The war loans for the colonies were guaranteed by Spain; and they are now a charge on the Spanish Treasury. The home revenues are not large enough to pay the interest on the peninsular debt (Spanish) and those colonial debts. At present Spain has all the expenses of her former colonies and none of the benefits. How she can get rid of the indebtedness, which eats up her income, is a problem for financiers and

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experienced statesmen. Whether she will be permitted to scale or repudiate or apply the sponge to what she owes depends not altogether upon herself, but upon the bankers of Paris and Brussels, who hold State, colonial, and railway debts, and are not inclined to yield.

One of the mysterious things connected with the difficulty of adjusting one's self to new relations and getting rid of traditional vanity and pride has found curious illustration in the last change in the Spanish Cabinet, when the Minister of Finance refused to undertake to make provision for the increase of military expenditures which the Secretary of War urged. For Spain to apply even remotely to herself the militarism of Moltke seems a jest, if it were not so serious. In the Reichstag, in 1856, the great German tactician said :

> "The army can never be a provisional thing. The army is primary among all the country's institutions ; for it alone makes the existence of other institutions possible. All civil and political liberty, all achievements of legislation, finance, the very state itself, stand and fall with the army."

There is much misapprehension about Spain in this country. Lord Salisbury's division of nations "as the living and the dying," and his description of dying states as those where "disorganization and decay are advancing," have been construed as an intentional, but disguised, reflection on Spain. But she has a brave, hospitable, noble, generous people. Those who think well of her cannot but hope and believe that misgovernment is not stereotyped. The old should vanish in the presence and power of the new. There is much in the political and ecclesiastical history of Spain that is of thrilling interest. Her sacrifices and struggles in the past for national independence and for political and religious rights, by a portion of her people, should not be forgotten.

In England we have before us the demonstration that a constitutional limited monarchy is not inconsistent with the highest civilization and the largest personal liberty. Spain has a constitution adopted in 1876, which, with the exception of the unhallowed union of church and state, a curse always and everywhere, has many principles very similar to those in our form of government.

Not long since the Archbishop of Toledo gave a warning to his clergy that they should dissociate themselves from political controversies, and confine themselves to their ecclesiastical duties. It is much to be regretted that a late congress in Burgos of reactionary prelates have antagonized the better spirit of the Archbishop ; seeking to carry their church and country back to the opinions which prevailed before

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the modern intellectual emancipation. These Burgos bishops suggest that "public instruction must be Catholic;" that the privileges of the clergy, including exemption from taxation and military service, must be reëstablished; that bishops should be given every facility in proving and recovering legacies from pious testators without the intervention of civil authority; and that all associations which are not Catholic should be forbidden. Such claims show the danger of placing irresponsible power again in clerical hands, and make the recovery of Spain from the wounds and calamities of the Hispano-American conflict more difficult and tedious. There is, however, a prospect, under wiser counsels, of a new Spain. With universal education, fidelity to engagements, economy and honesty of administration, freedom of religion, more liberal commercial regulations, reliance on intelligent and skilled labor, Spain may yet take a high and honorable place among the nations of the earth.

We have in the United States varied forms of church government, running through the whole scale from autocratic to democratic; and he would be a bold man, bigot, or fanatic, who would claim, as logical fruits, more and higher benefits to citizenship from one rather than from another. And so there may be varied forms of civil government, which, in practical work, may evolve for citizenship all that should properly be expected from governments that are more in accordance with our favorite theories.

In Spain there are men like Moret, Sagasta, Silvela, and Campos, who are broad-minded statesmen, cultured and patriotic; and we may reasonably expect that they will rise superior to the unfavorable environments which block the pathway of that country, and place their historic land, not among the first-class powers of Europe, but alongside of those of lesser rank, which are not less distinguished than their great neighbors for all that promotes real industrial prosperity, and for the recognition of those personal rights which lie at the foundation of the best political institutions. It is fortunate for Spain that in the Queen Regent the country, bereft of much that she held sacred, has a head and ruler who is, in purity of character, devotion to her religion, practice of the most exalted feminine virtues, fine intelligence, and large acquaintance with domestic and foreign affairs, a monarch who will in her future history be honored as a boon from heaven, an inspiring exemplar and model, in the perilous crises which have come with crushing effect upon a proud and sensitive nation.

J. L. M. Curry.

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THE FINNISH QUESTION.

TOWARD the close of last June a deputation, consisting of six scientists—among them the famous discoverer, Baron Nordenskiöld, and the well-known Senator, Trarieux—visited St. Petersburg, in order to present to the Czar, in the name of one thousand prominent European scholars and artists, a petition in favor of Finland. What had occurred to inspire this unanimous expression of sympathy on the part of all Europe? As some very peculiar circumstances are here involved, it will be necessary, in order clearly to elucidate the question, to enter upon a brief historical review.

It is generally believed that the Finns, who, ethnographically speaking, are identified with a group distinct from that of the Indo-Germanic tribes, migrated to Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era, when they became established in their present possessions. Relics of this older period may be found in the "Kalewala," a work concerning which THE FORUM recently published an article, that was received, I understand, with great enthusiasm in Finland. In the Middle Ages numerous conflicts arose between the Finns and the Swedes, in the course of which Finland was finally conquered and permanently incorporated with the Kingdom of Sweden. Nevertheless, the Finns were treated with great clemency, and enjoyed all the benefits of the free Swedish institutions; so that, indeed, they eventually came to regard themselves, not as victims of oppression, but as fully privileged subjects of the state. The Reformation, which found rapid acceptance in Finland, tended to knit the two countries into still closer bonds; and, under Gustavus Adolphus, the Finns and the Swedes fought side by side in behalf of the Protestant cause. The Finnish tongue, distinguished by marked individuality and a high degree of euphony, remained the language of the people; while Swedish became more and more popular with the upper classes. Of the population of Finland, in 1890, Finnish was claimed as the native tongue by 2,048,545, and Swedish, by 322,604. The native Finns and the Swedish element of the country are together usually distinguished by the appellation of Finns.

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A great change was effected in 1809, when Finland, ceded by Sweden to Russia, was compelled to share the fortunes of the latter country. Notwithstanding this union, however, Finland retained a high degree of independence, remaining a separate Grand Duchy, and retaining its constitutional government; the old Constitution having been expressly ratified by Alexander I of Russia in 1809. The Diet consists of representatives chosen from the four orders; viz., the nobility, the clergy, the citizens, and the peasants. No taxes may be levied, no troops requisitioned, and no laws enacted, without the consent of this legislative body. It is evident, therefore, that, notwithstanding its union with Russia, Finland practically remained a free country, capable of natural development. True, internal dissensions were not wanting; and perhaps the most important of these was the agitation against the supremacy of the Swedish over the native language—an agitation conducted by the Fennomanians against the Svekomanians. The result was favorable to the Finnish language. Of the 134 newspapers and periodicals printed in Finland in 1891, 79 were Finnish and 55 Swedish. Nevertheless, as regards culture, Swedish has hitherto maintained a very prominent position.

Yet this language question, although occasionally very hotly contested, has by no means diminished the sense of unity among the people, nor hampered the development of the country. This development in our century has been truly marvellous. Finland is the northernmost country of Europe. It is compelled to combat with a rough climate and a stubborn, granite soil, thinly covered with earth. It is full of seas, swamps, and morasses; and its situation in the farthermost corner of the Baltic makes it somewhat inaccessible to commerce.

Still, despite all these obstacles, Finland to-day is entitled to rank with the most advanced nations of Europe. It may boast of a very extensive commercial and industrial development and of an excellent educational system. It participates in every department of scientific research, and has produced a number of distinguished painters and sculptors. Particularly noteworthy, however, are its achievements in the field of poetry. The dialect verse of this country is especially rich and varied, and has obtained a wide celebrity during the present century; the most distinguished representative in this department being the indefatigable Lönnrot, who, in 1835, published the national epic "Kalewala" and, at a somewhat later date, a collection of lyrics and ballads entitled "Kanteletar." Indeed, a special scientific organization, the Finnish Literary Society (Suomalaison Kirjallisunden Seura),

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has now been incorporated for the purpose of fostering and promoting a specifically Finnish literature.

Nor has the Swedish element of Finland been inactive. Runeberg (1804–1877), who may be considered the national poet *par excellence*, wrote in Swedish ; and in the personality of this writer we find the two national elements of the country admirably blended. Although Swedish by education and training, Runeberg was very closely identified with the popular spirit ; and his poetry is a faithful portraiture of land and people. Runeberg was a scholar entirely devoid of pedantry. He was not a book-worm, but a master of sport, whose leisure hours were devoted to travel, yachting, fishing, and hunting. He is said also to have displayed remarkable skill in taming and training animals. With such qualifications, he became enabled to mirror forth, in all its clearness and distinctness, the deep, grave, and silent nature of his native land—the illimitable forests, countless lakes, the rigorous winter and beautiful, though brief, summer, the conflict between light and mist, and many other characteristic features of that northern land. Not less faithful was his portrayal of the life of the people—their hard toil, stout endurance of hardship, amiable humor, unwavering fidelity, manly bravery, and, above all, their enthusiastic patriotism. This patriotism has, perhaps, found its highest expression in Runeberg's celebrated song, "Our Country." This lyric has become the national anthem of Finland, and is always sung standing. Despite various changes in the external circumstances of the country, the poems of Runeberg still afford the most faithful picture of Finnish life and manners.

Upon the whole, the internal development of the country, during the present century, affords a very gratifying spectacle. We behold a people boldly self-reliant and hardily independent, overcoming all unfavorable conditions—a people richly endowed and very energetic, exclusively engaged in cultivating the arts of peace, and vying in this regard with the greatest nations of the earth. We note continuous progress and rapid development of prosperity and culture.

Yet, upon this scene of peaceful development a dark cloud has cast its sombre shadow. I refer to the relation between Finland and Russia. Although the independence of Finland is secured by its Constitution, there has ever been some doubt as to how long this Constitution would remain effective. Indeed, as regards their political relation to Russia, the Finns may be said to have passed through various phases. Alexander I was favorable to the country. During the reign of his

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successor, Nicholas I (1825–1855), the Diet did not once convene. Under Alexander II Finland was most prosperous; and the beginning of the reign of Alexander III was also very auspicious. Later, however, the Sclavophile party of Russia began to attack the national independence of the Grand Duchy; and various measures were devised to limit the national autonomy, and to bring the institutions into accord with those of Russia.

The agitation in favor of the Russification of Finland was particularly strong during the period 1890–1892. But the Finns stood up boldly in defence of their constitutional rights, and succeeded in bringing the matter to a standstill. In the meantime Alexander III died, and the accession of Nicholas II again seemed to give promise of better times. The Czar ratified the Constitution, and completely restored to the Diet—the highest legislative body of the land—those rights which had been curtailed during the reign of his father. The tenor of the Imperial document ratifying the Constitution of Finland is as follows: [1]

"As we, through the will of Providence, have come into hereditary possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, we have hereby desired to confirm and ratify the Religion, the Fundamental Laws, the rights and privileges of every class in the said Grand Duchy, in particular, and all its inhabitants, high and low, in general, which they according to the Constitution of this country have enjoyed; promising to preserve the same steadfastly and in their full force.

"Livadia, this 6th of November, 1894.

(Signed) "NICHOLAS."

This document tended to lift the weight of care which had rested so heavily upon the people of Finland; and once more they gazed hopefully into the future. But the turn which events have recently taken has suddenly converted this feeling of security into blank astonishment and dismay. In July, 1898, just one month before the publication of the Czar's Peace Manifesto, the Diet of Finland was summoned to meet in extraordinary session during January, 1899, in order to debate upon the new Army Bill submitted by the Russian Government. Hitherto, the army of Finland has been strictly national in character, and has served solely for the defence of the province. The standing army has been limited to 5,600 men, 1,920 of whom are annually selected to bear arms during a period of three years. This has now been changed; the main features of the new Army Bill being as follows:

[1] The above extract is taken from the June number of "Finland, an English Journal devoted to the Cause of the Finnish People," edited by C. Harold Perrott, 106 Victoria Street, London.

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1. Finnish troops may be requisitioned for service beyond the confines of the Grand Duchy.

2. Russians may serve in the Finnish, and Finlanders in the Russian, Army.

3. A lightening of the duties of military service upon the ground of superior education will be granted to those only who can speak, read, and write Russian.

4. The period of active service under the flag is increased from three years to five.

5. The annual contingent of soldiers in active service is increased from 1,920 men to 7,200.

We at once perceive the fundamental nature of these changes, which threaten to impose a far heavier burden upon Finland, and to Russify her army. Naturally, the new law met with the most determined opposition. But while the bill was still in committee there appeared on February 15, 1899, an Imperial ukase, whereby the entire situation was radically changed, and the independence of Finland seriously threatened. This ukase decrees that while the internal administration and legislation of Finland are to remain unimpaired, matters affecting the common interests of Finland and Russia are to be no longer submitted solely to the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchy. Furthermore, the Emperor reserves to himself the final decision as to which matters are to be included in the above category. All laws uniformly established throughout the Empire (including Finland), all such as affect Finland alone, and such also as refer to the common interests or legislation of both countries are in future to be treated as follows :

After their formulation by the highest authorities, they will be submitted to the Senate and, in certain instances, also to the Diet of Finland. The proceedings of these bodies will then be presented to the Imperial Council, which will render the final decision—with the cooperation, however, of the Governor-General of Finland, the Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy, and such members of the Finland Senate as may be specially appointed by the Imperial Council. The document is couched in terms expressing good-will for Finland. In effect, however, it signifies the complete demolition of the constitutional rights of that country. For in all matters involving the interests of both countries, or affecting in any way those of Russia, Finland will hereafter be confined to a mere expression of opinion : she will no longer be able to exercise the privilege of formulating an independent resolution. The definition of " common interests " as furnished by the

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ukase is so vague as to make the exercise of any form of self-government on the part of the Finlanders a matter of uncertainty, if not of serious difficulty. Not only the interpretation of "common interests," but also the designation of the law governing them, is primarily in the hands of the Russian authorities. Finland, an independent, constitutional state, has been, or, at all events, is to be, converted into a province of Russia.

Additional evidence as to the intention of the National party and the bureaucracy of Russia may be gleaned from the following circumstances: Gen. Bobrikoff, the present Governor-General of Finland, is the same man who accomplished the Russification of the Baltic Provinces, and who uprooted the German culture which had thriven there. Privy Councillor von Plehwe, the newly appointed Secretary of State for Finland—an office heretofore invariably filled by natives of the Province—is a member of the Russian bureaucracy. Furthermore, the press of Finland, both Swedish and Finnish, has been subjected to numerous vexations, which are daily becoming more aggravating.

Many other measures, recently introduced, also clearly reveal the purpose of the present Russian policy with regard to the Grand Duchy. Thus, some time ago, a Commission was appointed to consider the introduction of certain reforms in the Finnish Military Academy at Frederikshamn. All the members of this Commission, with one exception, were Russians; and the propositions submitted were to the effect that the Russian language was to be employed almost exclusively as the medium of instruction. Only nine hours a week were to be devoted to Swedish (the instruction to be given to seven or eight classes at once); while twenty-eight hours were set apart for the study of Finnish. At the same time it was recommended that half the vacancies be reserved for Russian pupils. Another proof of Russia's anti-Finnish policy appears from the following: Various societies for the advancement of popular culture sent petitions to the Governor-General, requesting a ratification of their statutes. These petitions were returned, with the explanation that under the circumstances they should be submitted directly to the personal consideration of the Czar. This recommendation was complied with, and the result was an order on the part of the Czar (given in the form of a marginal note) to the effect, that under existing conditions the establishment of new societies could not be granted.

All these measures, and more particularly that annulling the ancient Constitution of the land, had a tremendous influence upon the

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Finlanders, who, nevertheless, amid these trying circumstances, acted like brave and loyal men. The conviction is general that the Czar, who had formerly manifested such good-will toward the country, and who had abrogated the enactments curtailing its constitutional rights, could not possibly have so completely changed his views within so short a time. Consequently, it was decided to address a monster petition in behalf of the people directly to the ruler himself. This plan met with the enthusiastic approval of the entire nation, and the document was signed by no fewer than 523,931 men and women of Finland. A deputation of five hundred was elected to present this petition, which so eloquently voiced the conviction of the whole nation. These five hundred representatives went to St. Petersburg, and requested an audience with the Czar. But their efforts were unavailing. They were not received; and it appeared as if the united voice of a peaceful and loyal people could not penetrate to the ear of the ruler.

In the meantime the attention of all Europe was directed to the matter; and everywhere the liveliest sympathy was manifested for that little Nation in the Northeast, which so ably participates in the propagation of culture, which stands in nobody's way, and which, nevertheless, without any fault of its own, now sees its entire national existence seriously menaced by a superior power. There now arose—entirely from private initiative, and without the exercise of any influence on the part of Finland—a general movement among European nations to select prominent scholars and artists; *i.e.*, men entirely removed from the political arena, to act as representatives of the popular sentiment, and to speak a good word with the Czar in behalf of Finland. The idea found a universal and cordial indorsement; and the emulation displayed by the nations of Europe gave splendid evidence of the high appreciation and respect everywhere entertained for Finland. Apart from this, however, the demonstration revealed the fact that, despite international rivalry and conflict, the feeling of solidarity still exists among the nations, and that the sentiments of human sympathy and magnanimity are still potent, and capable of stimulating generous natures to the execution of a common enterprise.

Addresses of sympathy for Finland were formulated in England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and these addresses were signed by over one thousand and fifty scholars and artists. It is possible here to present the names of only a few of the distinguished persons enrolled upon this list. Every university of England was represented

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by the signatures of its most prominent professors ; and so we find, among others, men like Lord Lister, President of the Royal Society ; Sir Clements R. Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society ; Herbert Spencer, George Meredith, Sir Henry E. Roscoe, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London ; Sir William Huggins, and Sir Wemyss Reid, President of the Institute of Journalists. In France, the Academy, that centre of culture, placed itself at the head of the movement. Yet, in addition to the academicians, we find the names of such distinguished persons as Camille Flammarion, August Sabatier, and Émile Zola. This ready participation on the part of the first names in France should have particular weight in Russia, inasmuch as it clearly reveals that the sympathy for Finland is not actuated by any antipathy toward Russia.

Germany, also, the country with whose culture that of Finland is most closely identified, manifested a very lively interest in the movement. Within a few days over one hundred and sixty German scholars and artists had affixed their signatures to the document, among these being Mommsen, Virchow, Haeckel, Kuno Fischer, von Lenbach, the celebrated painter ; Reinhold Begas, the architect ; Wallot, the designer of the new Reichstag building ; Neumayer, President of the Lighthouse Board ; Reuleaux, well known in America, and many others. The addresses of other nations also bore the signatures of the first men of the land. The whole affair, in short, was of the nature of a grand international declaration—an event wholly unique in the history of civilization.

All the addresses together were to be presented to the Czar by a small deputation ; and for this purpose the Commission mentioned at the beginning of this article proceeded to St. Petersburg. The gentlemen took great pains to secure an audience ; they went from one minister to another, and avoided every appearance of unfriendliness. Nevertheless, their request was politely declined ; and the acceptance of the document bearing the signatures of over one thousand notabilities firmly refused. The Commission, therefore, to all appearance unsuccessful, was compelled to return. The route followed was by way of Finland ; and here the deputies received a very strong impression of the invincible determination of the people to employ every legal means in defence of their constitutional rights. They also received evidences of the deep gratitude with which the people of Finland acknowledged the sympathy of Europe.

However powerless Finland may be externally we have no reason

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to despair of her future, so long as her own people do not abandon hope. An element of strength may be found in the fact that all national differences formerly existing have now been extinguished in the face of a common danger. Moreover, the people are upheld by that consciousness of right, which is a tower of strength in itself; while, at the same time, their higher culture endows them with all the power of resistance that such inward possession implies. Besides, there is still some hope that the monarch, formerly so well disposed toward Finland, the monarch, to whose broad, human sentiments the initiative of the recent Peace Commission was due, will guard the country against serious evil. There is, however, a sharp contrast between the Peace Conference and the oppression of a small peace-loving and loyal nation. For, even if we admit that the Commission bears upon international, rather than upon the internal, affairs of the separate states, we must concede that its final purpose was the establishment of peace and concord among mankind. And how can these be attained when a strong nation attacks a weaker one, politically dependent on it, in order completely to obliterate every vestige of national independence? How can peace and concord be established when constitutional rights, legally sanctioned and sacredly guaranteed, are unhesitatingly annulled?

It is in this light that the matter is regarded by all European states, irrespective of party. Indeed, it is said that even in Russia, among the more liberal circles, there is a pronounced sympathy in favor of Finland. Everywhere the danger threatening this able and well-beloved member of the European family of nations is painfully felt. At the same time it is hoped that the popular expression of sympathy will not only inspire the people of Finland with hope, but will also make a lasting impression upon the bureaucracy of Russia. For no country can be permanently indifferent to the unanimous moral vote of humanity at large, irrespective of nations and parties. If, therefore, the Finnish question may be regarded as one affecting all mankind, America surely will not be content to stand in the background. Should not the valiant and legitimate struggle of an able nation in behalf of constitutional liberty and higher culture meet with the sympathies of the American people?

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

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WHAT THE WORLD OWES TO FRANCE.

EVENTS which are inclined to arouse the passions of the people in whose midst they occur should be judged with calmness by those who dwell at a distance. The latter should not lose sight of the historical background upon which a drama of national importance develops; and they should certainly keep in mind the fact that the powers that work for the light are as worthy of consideration as those that have succeeded in casting a rather dark shadow over the political aspect of France.

If we accept the contents of the American and English papers—including the letters addressed to the editors, the resolutions of societies, and the utterances of public men—as indications of the views of the people as a whole, then we are led to believe that Anglo-Saxondom has resolved itself into one great Areopagus, with the self-imposed mission of passing judgment on France. At a single sweep everything that France has done, even at the cost of self-immolation, toward bringing about a state of equality before the law in Europe, where formerly prejudice and prerogative held the scales of justice, is sunk into oblivion.

Just ten years ago was celebrated the centenary of the declaration of the *rights of man* by the Constituent Assembly. By this declaration there were removed, in one great act, all the burdens of an unequal nature, and all the distinctions which the accumulated measures of oppression of two thousand years had set up between man and his fellows. Our own Declaration of Independence was a brilliant example leading up to the French act of emancipation. But, while we may call America's declaration the modern gospel of human rights, after which the French work was shaped—and from which there can never be a retrogression, whatever ephemeral holders of authority may ordain in their assumptions—still we must not fail to recognize that the conditions were not equal. In the present situation it may not be amiss to point out the heroic work done by France, for which all coming generations owe to her both gratitude and respect.

The people forming the United Colonies of America were practi-

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cally united in sentiment and were fairly equal in conditions. Their hatred of oppression was inborn. They, or their ancestors, had been driven from home and country by cruel laws, temporal and spiritual. Religious intolerance, at one time or another, forced the greater portion to seek shelter in a country where they could live in accordance with their own opinions. A very large majority of the settlers were followers of Calvin. Now the reformed religions, and preëminently those following the doctrines of the Geneva reformer, grounded their beliefs in the Hebrew writings. Whatever we may think of the authenticity of the occurrences related in the Bible, one thing is certain: the Hebrew Scriptures are unequalled in any era and in any country as a code of morals. They are the grand charter of liberty of the human race. The Republic of Equals is declared to be the only government sanctioned by Jehovah. Kingcraft is deprecated. When the people cannot be longer restrained, the prophet, by the direct command of Jehovah, solemnly warns them of the consequences. He tells them that kingship means the taking away of their sons by the king into his armies without their consent, and taxing them without their approval, by appropriating to his own use the substance of their flocks and their fields. Time and again the inspired prophet appears and calls the wrath of his God upon the tyrant and his house for acts of oppression or injustice. The poor and friendless Naboth robbed of his vineyard by the king is revenged by the destruction of Ahab and his house.

The Deity revealing himself to the prophet selects a man of Israel. The latter is a man of Ephraim, of Benjamin, of Judah, where the tribal relations are mentioned; but never a son of Aaron, or even a Levite. No hierarchic structure, no priestly interference, is called into play between the son of Israel and his God. The priest is reduced to his sacrificial duties. Every male Israelite is a free and independent communicant. Every head of a household is a priest of Jehovah so far as devotional services go. The law knows no distinction between man and man. Liberty breathes through every page. It is the groundwork of the commonwealth. The man who prefers a full stomach at the hands of a master to the freedom to which he is entitled in the jubilee year is to have his ears pierced: he is to be branded, so to speak, before his fellowmen, as one fit for their contempt. Liberty, equality, and fraternity were the pillars upon which the Hebrew commonwealth was founded; and this at the time when Plato conceived his ideal republic. Plato recognized slavery as an existing institution, but could find no adequate words to condemn it. When we consider that the

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entire world surrounding this little patch upon the map consisted of states dominated by the privileged classes, and that slavery was the condition of the masses, it is not surprising that for two thousand years this instrument should have been accredited to divine origin.

Ever since emigration to America had set in, the English Government—king, privileged classes, and church—furnished with remarkable pertinacity the proof of the wisdom of the biblical precepts. The dissenters in general and the Ulstermen in particular had a rankling grievance to transmit to their children. The Ulstermen's services to the Protestant cause, in 1689, were requited by the restrictive acts of the British Parliament in the interest of "protection to home industries," which destroyed the linen industry and the ship-building trade of the north as completely as the acts against the wool and the woollens of Ireland ruined the south. The Presbyterian settlers of Ulster, driven to America by these acts of oppression, had in their sons the avengers who squared the account. The Puritans of New England had no less pungent reminders of what drove their fathers to the western hemisphere. Though the people of the Southern colonies differed to some extent in character from the earliest settlers, yet New England set the pace for all the colonies. Greene, in his "History of the English People," says:

"In the main features of their outer organization the whole of the colonies stood fairly at one. In religious and civil matters alike all of them contrasted sharply with the England at home."

The French people had a more difficult task before them; for all the powers of possession—state, church, and transmitted institutions—were arrayed against the demand for reform. Probably owing to long-endured oppression, the mass of the people outside of Paris were apathetic. It is, therefore, the more to the credit of France that the sweeping measures of reform in the Constituent Assembly were proposed by those who were the beneficiaries of the burdens that crushed the poorer classes, and principally the peasantry. If those who introduced the measures which changed the aspect of the world had been told a month preceding the sitting of the night of the 4th of August, 1789, that this would be their coming action, they would probably have rejected such an insinuation as the expression of a madman. The burdens were all borne by the peasantry and the so-called bourgeois classes. The nobility and the clergy were supported entirely by these, while themselves enjoying immunity from nearly all taxation. Feudal burdens of the most oppressive and humiliating character were carried

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by the peasant. The taille, the dime (the tithe), and the other territorial taxes (*impôts territoriaux*) were nearly all contributed by the peasantry. When to this is added the tax upon the time of the peasant during the better part of the season, and the consequent curtailment of his opportunity to cultivate the soil and to reap the harvest that was to enable him to pay the tax-gatherer, it must remain a marvel that despair had not long before brought the country to revolution. Arthur Young may be cited in regard to the nature of some of these extra burdens, under which the peasant groaned ("Travels in France," vol. ii, p. 426, French edition):

"What shall we say when we see it solicited as a favor, to glean the grains, to mow the hay-field, and to remove the stubbles, without regard to the partridge and all other game? Numerous edicts prohibited weeding and second tilling, for fear of troubling the partridge, as well as manuring with night-soil, for fear that the game feeding on the resulting grain would acquire an unpleasant taste from it."

To fully appreciate the part played by the representatives of the titled classes who moved in one sweep for the abolition of all privileges and prerogatives which distinguished one Frenchman from another, we must call to mind the advantages they enjoyed. The Vicomte de Noailles, in his speech introducing his motion for the abolition of feudal rights, laid down the principle, that the most extended liberation of the soil and its cultivators was the first and surest means toward attaining the most favorable results. The measure was seconded by the Duke of Aiguillon. Free be the soil as the people who live on it was henceforth the law of France.

It cannot be denied that the distinguishing feature of the French Revolution was the hearty support given by the French aristocracy to the reforms abolishing mediævalism. The philosophy of the eighteenth century, it must be borne in mind, was propagated through this channel. Taine observes justly:

"Never was an aristocracy more liberal, more humane, more converted to liberal reforms; many of them remained thus till under the knife of the guillotine. As to the nobility of the provinces, they were, according to one of their ranks, so tired of the court and its ministers that the greater part were Democrats. The most recalcitrant nobles revindicated in their *cahiers* the rights of man. In July, 1788, two hundred noblemen signed the declaration of the States of Dauphiné, stating: 'The rights of men are derived from nature alone and are independent of their agreements (*conventions*).'"

Arthur Young, who, while travelling in France from 1789 to 1791, came in intimate contact with the Larochefoucaulds, the Liancourts,

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the Polignacs, and others of high rank, gives interesting evidence in support of this statement.

In contrast to this spirit manifesting itself in the Constituent Assembly of 1789 to 1791, a few of the acts of the British House of Lords may be cited, as showing the disposition of the British aristocracy, maintained well-nigh up to the present time :

1810. Rejected bill abolishing the death penalty for stealing goods valued at five shillings. More than 200 crimes—many of them trivial, 75 relating to revenue—were then punishable by death.

1829. Disfranchised forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland before granting Catholic emancipation.

1830. Opposed land drainage in Ireland ; postponing it for sixteen years.

1832. Brought the country to brink of revolution by opposing reform bill.

1832. Refused to open universities to dissenters.

1833. Compelled withdrawal of bill for Irish national education.

1833 to 1857. Denied civil and political rights to Jews for quarter of a century. The Commons bill seven times rejected by Lords.

1834. Again threw out bill for abolishing university test.

1835. Refused reform for forty years in Ireland. Population then 8,000,000 and voters 60,000.

1838. Refused mother's custody of infants during separation caused by fault of father.

1839. Continued death penalty for sheep-stealing.

1839. Rejected by 229 to 118 the bill to provide national education.

1844. Opposed repeal of the Penal Laws (Ireland), which made it a crime for a Roman Catholic to teach a child to read, to be absent from Protestant services, and to own a horse above five pounds in value.

I shall not cite further. This brief extract is taken from a list of various acts of the Lords, down to 1887, in the "Financial Reform Almanac" for 1893. The few quotations give us an illustration of the spirit which animated what is commonly regarded as the most public-spirited and liberal-minded aristocracy of Europe.

The debt Germany owes to France is recognized by its best writers, one of whom (Langethal, "History of German Agriculture," by Michelsen, 1882) says :

"Twice within sixty years (1789 and 1848) the French nation has in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity given the motto for the reign of humanity and freedom. And with

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what terrible and irresistible energy has this threatened people, in its revolution of 1789, taken up the gage of battle against all Europe, and carried the banner of liberty before all the people of the continent! With what titanic force has it broken the chains of the middle ages and liberated the rights of man! History as an unbiased judge will never forget this."

What Europe of the nineteenth century would have been without the France of the eighteenth may be judged by a few illustrations of Germany's experience after the downfall of Napoleon, covering the period down to the time of the creation of the North German Confederation.

The Constitution of 1791 put into the form of law the declaration of principles of the memorable night of the 4th of August. All citizens are now endowed with equal rights. For the first time the Jew is no longer ostracised for the crime of his birth. He is declared a citizen, and henceforth enjoys all the rights of Frenchmen. What his position was in other countries, except where the magnanimous spirit of Frederic II and of Joseph II had enabled the light to break through the walls of the Ghetto, may be gleaned from what is known of his position in Frankfort up to the time of the French occupation.

In quoting from George Brandes—the "Literature of the Nineteenth Century"—I know I only repeat what I have gathered by oral transmission from members of an older generation recalling the conditions under which their childhood was passed. Describing the youthful days of Ludwig Boerne, our author says:

"All Jews were forced to live in the narrow, miserable, overcrowded Judengasse (Jew-street), their sole abode since the year 1462. At the beginning of night all the inhabitants of the Ghetto were locked in. They were not allowed to use the sidewalk while walking in the street in daytime, but had to take the middle of the street. They had to remove their hats before every passer-by who would call out: 'Jew, make your bow.' To prevent too large an increase not more than fourteen couples were permitted to marry in any one year. On every festive occasion they were driven into the Ghetto. On Sunday the gates were locked regularly at four o'clock; and no one was allowed to pass by the guard at the gate except when on an errand with a prescription to the drug-store, or for the purpose of mailing a letter. One general rule was, 'No Jew allowed on a green spot.'"

All this was changed with the French occupation. Dalberg, the Prince Primate of the Rheinbund, took his seat at Frankfort in 1806, and at once instituted measures to improve the condition of the Jews. In 1810 Napoleon decreed the abolition of all burdens resting upon the Jews. In 1811 they obtained all the rights of citizenship from the City Council on the payment of the sum of four hundred thousand florins.

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With the downfall of Napoleon the Jews were again deprived of all the rights they had obtained under the new *régime*. The purchase money was kept. They were thrust back into their former degraded position. The humiliation was the greater on account of the short spell the pariah had been given in which to taste the air of freedom and equality.

If there was any consolation for him, it was in the reactionary measures that were taken all over Germany to wipe out the liberal institutions introduced as a consequence of French ascendancy. The self-sacrifice of the people in breaking down the rule of the foreign despot was compensated by the little despots, who again drew breath, by robbing the people of the rights and liberties which followed in the wake of the eagles carried by the armies of the Corsican. The fifty years that followed the war of "liberation" may fitly be called years of reaction and of petty despotism. The Code Napoleon (French law) was permitted to continue on German territory, on the left border of the Rhine. The rest of Germany was given an opportunity to study by contrast the blessings conferred by the French Revolution. During all of this time even the word "liberty" was made odious by the ruling powers. The King of Prussia suggested the substitution of the word "Evangelical" for "Reformed" Church. The word "Reformed" recalled the demand of the people for reform—an audacious arrogation which had to be frowned down. The expressions of a desire for German unity were not less distasteful. As late as 1861 we sang "Die Wacht am Rhein" behind closed doors at the Turnverein at Frankfort, to which the writer belonged.

These facts should be weighed by the reader when he attempts to form a conclusion as to the probable state of Europe's political and socio-economic condition without the advent of the French Revolution of 1789, and the revindication of its principles on the various occasions when it seemed to the French people that they were placed in jeopardy.

From all this we may claim that if France has lost in morality and in sense of justice, as is the verdict of her foreign critics, preëminently in England and in America, the battle for the recovery of these priceless virtues may be safely left in the hands of her own citizens, who in time of need have not failed to clear the momentary tarnish from her shield. Every country of Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century had its Jean Calas. But only the French Jean Calas lives in history, in consequence of the indomitable energy of the Sage of Ferney.

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Only France had a Voltaire. It is probable that Capt. Dreyfus would never have been cleared of the foul blot which military assassins had put upon his name, and that he would never again have seen the light of freedom, if there had not been a Zola, a Scheurer-Kestner, an Yves Guyot, a Labori, and other distinguished Frenchmen who would not be quieted once they had recognized that a great judicial crime had been committed, and who will not rest until every vestige of it is removed, and the victim of the outrage restored to his full rights and his honor. The Merciers, Rogets, and Billots are fully matched by the splendid figure of Galliffet. The Gonses, Henrys, Du Paty de Clams, and Esterhazys offer pictures of contempt to their own co-conspirators through the brilliant lustre thrown out by Picquart. Are the Galliffets, Picquarts, Hartmanns, Freystaedters, and those members of the late court martial who did not allow themselves to be overawed by the clique of generals not also officers of the French army?

It would be to the honor of those of other nations who love free government to raise a sympathetic voice for France, now so sorely tried in a struggle for the preservation of her republican institutions. The breaking down of the Republic would be ominous to the freedom of other countries. France is paying dearly for her thirst for revenge. Standing armies are a menace to liberty the world over. They made a Napoleon III possible. The war of 1870 was but a question of who was to strike the first blow. The spirit of militarism has been growing ever since. How it saps the best institutions and corrupts the nobler sentiments may be seen in the example we are giving to the world in our war in the Philippines, and in the example that England is setting in its war against the Dutch Republics of South Africa. It will be fortunate for France if she has no more deplorable experiences in the near future than what the Dreyfus case has demonstrated.

The spirit of anti-Semitism is rampant in France, and is showing itself in rather ugly demonstrations. But this need not be made a special reproach to France. It is a form of atavism which breaks out periodically, with more or less severity, in all countries. Under its colors all the reactionary forces of France have concentrated. In Russia it is the barbarism of the governing classes, in Austria, the ignorant prejudices of the masses, from which it develops. In Germany the form has become somewhat polished; but the "Hep" "Hep" of the middle ages is as apt to be heard in 1900 as it was in 1848. I have in my possession a letter-head from a seaside hotel near New York City, on one side of which is printed, in big red letters, "Terms: $3 a Day,"

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and, on the other side, "No Jews." For this the proprietor is not to blame. He merely responds to the prejudices of his patrons. This spirit will disappear when our civilization has penetrated a little deeper into the inner man.

There is one thing, however, in which France stands far above her critics; namely, in the position she gives officially to her Jews. The most exclusive body among all nations is the corps of officers of the regular army. As has been recently stated there are, in the French army, some 280 commissioned officers of the Jewish persuasion.[1] Several of these are generals, one of whom is mentioned as the general commanding an army corps. Until the advent of the Dreyfus case, I do not remember having heard of a single case of prejudice on account of religion. This must also be considered by the nations whose hands are now raised in indignation, but whose army lists would show scarcely a Jew among their commissioned officers.

In art, the mantle of Italy has fallen upon France. And how does she absolve herself of her mission? I have never heard of a restrictive measure to exclude foreigners, nor of a fear that her trade might suffer through the application of the lessons she teaches her rivals. She leaves the exercise of this species of narrow-mindedness to her neighbor. All her art schools, as well as her other schools, are free, and open to all comers. The classes of her splendid École des Beaux Arts are taught by her great masters, who consider it an honor to teach the aspiring artists of all nations congregating around them, without regard to emolument. Let our American artists say what they would be without the teaching of Paris, or what their home schools would be without the influence radiating from that city. The barrier erected in most countries between high art and industrial art has been removed in France. The drawing master of the day school is thoroughly in touch with the high school in art. The curriculum is shaped by the highest authorities in learning and in art. The art teachers and drawing masters of the provincial schools are allowed their travelling expenses, if they will visit Paris, during their vacations, in order to keep in touch with that great school and its teachers, and to draw inspiration from its priceless galleries.

Everything tending to cultivate the mind, to promote skill, and to

[1] The "Republique Française," for September 9, gives the following scathing rebuke to the foreign critics of France: "The German paper—'The Strassburger Post,'—forgets that in the entire army of William II there is not a single Israelitic officer, while in France we count more than a thousand."

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elevate artistic taste, is dealt out with lavish hand. France knows that her forte lies in her art industries. The taste of her people, a natural heirloom, is the soil from which her foreign trade draws the richest harvests. France wisely considers it her mission to supply her people with all the means that may assist them in the effective cultivation of taste. She spreads the feast and bids every one welcome. Nowhere have I found readier acknowledgment of their debt to France than among directors and professors of the newly developed industrial art schools in Germany, as well as among the heads of her industrial enterprises. The best designers are taught in Paris.

Paris abounds in studios where the industries of the world are supplied with designs and patterns for the season's work. Manchester, Mulhouse, Elberfeld, Berlin, Lowell, and New York feed on the brain of France, working through the eye of Paris. The industries of America, so far as taste is concerned, would be in a sad plight if put upon their own resources, in accordance with the intentions of recent legislation, and as partially realized in the exclusion of foreign fabrics that compete with home products. French exhibitions are, to the entire world, object-lessons concerning the attainable. They usually give a humiliating pang to the foreign visitors whose eyes are open, and whose judgment is not dulled by protectionistic conceit. It would be well for Americans, and especially for those interested in her industries, to visit Paris next year in large numbers. They will undoubtedly appreciate what Germany is readily admitting now, as a consequence of her action in 1889, that boycotting the Paris exhibition is an experiment too costly to be indulged in by nations whose products show so clearly their need of the lessons taught by France.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

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CIVIL SERVICE BY SPECIAL TRAINING.

THE civilized world wonders at our national progress, in view of certain inefficient and constantly dangerous features in the methods used to man the machinery of our Government.

Two branches of our service, the army and the navy, are as nearly perfect as they can be made in *personnel* and efficiency. In these the officers are specially educated; their salaries, though small, are progressive; and, on reaching the retiring age, they are pensioned. As a result we have Government servants who understand, and faithfully perform, their tasks—men of honorable lives, jealously careful of the Government's interests, and with such a record as to the handling of public funds that actual defalcations for a generation may be reckoned on one's fingers.

It is to be borne in mind that our military and naval officers are not a caste, except as made such by their calling. Nothing more truly democratic exists under our system than the selection of these men. Candidates include the sons of Presidents as well as the children of peasants from the steerage of immigrant ships. Preliminary examinations cover simply fitness—mental, physical, and moral; and while Gen. Lee, who led the Confederate armies, entered West Point from the ancestral halls of a family holding high station in all periods of United States history, his contemporary, Gen. Sheridan, who died Commander-in-Chief of our army, entered the same institution directly from the counter of a retail shop, in the village where his Irish father toiled with his hands for a living. These men were accepted as cadets because they were competent to pass the examinations—regardless of the rank of their sires. In fine, the system is, broadly speaking, the selection of exceptionally bright lads from the country at large—about one from each congressional district—and educating them at West Point or at Annapolis for the army or the navy by instruction not only in the technics of their professions, but in an *esprit du corps* which makes honor and duty stand higher than all else. The cadet who fails to rise to this level is not graduated.

So much for showing the possibility of government service being

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effectively and honorably done by selections from the masses. Let us now turn to the civil service. Repeated tinkerings of our grotesque methods have indeed resulted in a civil service system which is vastly better than none at all, and which may ultimately become of practical and enduring benefit to the nation, providing complaisant or narrow-minded governors do not weaken it, from time to time, as has been recently done. But why not make it beyond the power of party or President to interfere with the workings of a real civil service, by educating its members in a manner analogous to the training which has made our army and navy such a credit to the country?

All agree that the vices of our present system lie in "politics." What is "politics" as applied to this subject? Brought to its last analysis, it is the procuring of votes in payment for offices. Were the offices removed from this field, politics would soon come to mean something else; and anything else would be an improvement.

We cannot attain white robes, perhaps, but we can easily cease wearing foul rags. How? The Government should establish a university, with colleges for special branches of the civil service. These should be in charge of carefully selected professors, under life tenure. Nomination of candidates should be made according to congressional districts, by competitive examination. To this extent the "patronage," to use that un-American word, would remain in the hands of congressmen; but as in the case of the military and naval colleges, its abuse would be guarded against by examinations. Graduates should enter such branches of the civil service as final examinations might prove them best adapted for. They should begin in the lowest clerical positions, and should be subject to later examinations for each promotion. It would be well to have such civil servants wear a simple, but distinctive, uniform, while on duty. This would be opposed, to some extent, just as the police of New York city opposed uniforms not so many years ago. It would take time to man the departments with a full force from this source; but it could be gradually done; and meanwhile the standard would of necessity become higher among the untrained office-holders.

But, to ask the vital question, would it pay? Financially, it should pay beyond any present power of reckoning. Where at present several incumbents manage to drift through a task in a perfunctory, politics-shielded fashion, one distinctly trained civil servant with a college behind him, and an honorable career before him, would be able to do the same work, and more, and with this difference; namely, that party

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leaders and corrupt political organizations could not make him their ally and confederate. Would it pay? Test it by a reversal. How would it pay to discharge the contracting and disbursing officers of the army and navy, and substitute for them professional politicians, to be appointed for party services? A consular clerk specially trained in his duties, educated in the language of the country to which he shall be sent, familiar with its commerce and its currency, would save his consulate many times his salary every year.

So far as the general public sees, the best administered branch of the Government civil service to-day is the Post Office. Its gigantic operations are conducted with accuracy; and its work is satisfactorily done. One does not need to make a close study to see how much has been done by discipline, uniforms, and the severing of the department from politics, to bring this about. To be sure there is a sanctity about the mails which appeals to every household. The taxes may be squandered; but our letters must remain unopened, and be promptly sent to their destination. Yet even the Post Office is a glaring instance of the workings of "politics."

In large cities the personality of the postmaster is nothing, the system everything. In small communities, however, the postmaster is of necessity brought into contact with practically every individual who reads or writes. Yet he is the one official not voted for, with whom the voters are of necessity in touch. Party change may make the least trusted and most inefficient of the local politicians postmaster, in the place of one who might be the unanimous choice of the local voters. Postmasterships are a valid tender for political debts.

Could an Administration hope to succeed itself if deprived of "patronage"? Probably not, unless it should take constant pains to show the mass of the voters that it was the best of Administrations. But the mass of the voters is, pessimists claim, corrupt and ignorant. If this be so, the greater is the reason for withdrawing such incentives to active and often fraudulent work as now exists. If an ignorant, venal voter should get nothing out of his vote save the sense of civic duty performed, election day would mean nothing to him.

Another point. The proposed system would draw to public office the better, instead of the less desirable, element. A young man of clean habits and high aims is to-day repelled from the public life which begins by filling a mere clerkship. His motives are impugned, and his associations repugnant. Furthermore, the dreadful uncertainty attaching to the tenure of office forbids this as a career. If, how-

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ever, the same young man could feel his commission to be an honor, in the knowledge that his fellows were of the same grade, and sure that on his good behavior and prompt discharge of duty depended his livelihood and his promotion, such a career would be sought by the class who now shun it.

Our problems hitherto, serious as they have seemed at times, have not been of the highest magnitude, by reason of our constantly increasing wealth and civilization, due to our rich land and the greatest natural resources God ever vouchsafed to a nation. These advantages have been operative upon a relatively small population, ranging from five millions at the beginning of the present century to only about fifteen times that number now. Under laws of natural increase, protected as we are from devastating wars, pestilence, and famine, we must face in the future conditions in which the volume of population as measured against opportunity must play an all-important part.

Beyond this, the colonial features of our future national life will surely demand trained servants, instead of the typical office-holder of to-day. Men governed by a sense of duty and protected from the baleful effects of party triumphs are needed especially in fields far from the supervision of the Washington authorities, and removed from the daily searchlights of the press. To misgovern those whom the fortunes of war or diplomacy have placed under the shadow of our flag is a crime; and yet, as the conditions of appointment to office now stand, such lands may easily become mere "political buzzard roosts" for men whose characters and qualifications could not be endured in office within our own borders.

The experiment, if such a self-evident matter can be called such, could now be well inaugurated by founding a college for the education of young men for the colonial service. Foreign languages—especially Spanish—international law, mathematics, and sanitation should be prominent in the curriculum. While the expense of such an institution need not be large, its merits would unquestionably lead to rapid extensions of the same system in other directions. Professional politicians would oppose it, as they oppose everything tending to weaken their power with ignorant voters; and the power of the latter is at the polls. Might it not be worth while for the people to take hold of it? Sometimes politicians "pander to the respectable element."

HOFFMAN ATKINSON.

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THE PROBLEM OF AN AMERICAN MARINE—A REPLY.

In The Forum for September Capt. William W. Bates, formerly United States Commissioner of Navigation, discussed the problem of an American marine. The article comments upon a bill for the revival of American shipping—a bill introduced early in the short session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and favorably reported by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and by the Senate Committee on Commerce. It also offers as an alternative remedy the readoption of the old policy of discriminating import and tonnage duties.

It is scarcely conceivable that Capt. Bates, in view of his present opposition to the bill, should have been, but eight years ago, one of the foremost American advocates of a bounty shipping policy. But such, nevertheless, is the truth. A few of his utterances while Commissioner of Navigation in behalf of bounties and a bounty bill are worthy of repetition. Before citing them, however, I shall attempt to answer some of the numerous points made in his article.

The first of these points is, that the measure has been framed "to secure private fortunes." To this I reply, that even if it should build up private fortunes, it would also, at the same time, build up American shipping. It is not to be supposed that American citizens will invest their money in ships for our foreign carrying for the purpose of losing it. No such private fortunes, I might add, could be made under this measure as would be assured by the alternative he proposes. He says, further, that "the representatives of foreign powers and of individual foreign interests feel more than pleased with the situation." I assert, in reply, that he cannot quote any representatives of foreign governments, or of foreign interests, who advocate an American policy of bounty for our shipping. Neither is he correct in asserting that "these representatives agree with a few of our own people, that, if anything is attempted by Congress, the remedy lies in subsidy, bounty, or 'compensation'—practically the same thing." Exactly the opposite is the fact. Foreign interests, as far as they have expressed themselves in the matter, concur with Capt. Bates in opposing bounties for Ameri-

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can shipping. As for the assertions that, as to bounties "applied to shipping, there is no end, except in calamity and ruin," and that "its principle is not that of protection against competition," I shall presently quote Capt. Bates's own statements in refutation.

Capt. Bates further insists that the measure would not retrieve a proportion of 75 to 80 per cent American carrying in our foreign trade, and argues, therefore, that it would not accomplish the work desired by the country; but, when previously advocating a bounty measure, his own figures proved that, although his scheme would not give over 25 per cent of our carrying to our own ships, it would afford the needed start in the direction of building up our marine in the foreign trade—the very result expected to be accomplished by the bill to which he is now hostile. I find, too, that his calculations are at fault. He assumes that the speed of American tonnage engaged in foreign commerce will average fourteen or fifteen knots; and, on this assumption, he declares that, if the entire marine thus employed were American, the cost for 1900 would be $40,278,351. This estimate of cost, however, is entirely misleading; for the average of speed has been placed by Capt. Bates far beyond its actual figure.

Equally extravagant are his computations as to the expense involved. Beginning his calculations on the basis of an 8 per cent American carriage of our foreign commerce in 1900, he assumes that it would be reasonable to expect it to reach 80 per cent in 1908, and thus estimates a total expense, up to that time, of $200,689,344. He says that if 80 per cent of vessel movement should continue to be American until the year 1929, inclusive, the expenditure for the period 1900–29 would amount to $1,680,918,435; and for the century, at the same rate, the sum would reach "thirteen and a quarter billions." His previous statements, which I propose to quote, are a complete answer to these exaggerations. I shall also show that he did not always believe that "retrogression, failure, and ruin" are shown, by the teachings of all experience, to follow the cessation of bounty payments.

It is now asserted by Capt. Bates that the provisions of the present bill limiting compensation and the period of contracts stamp it as "inexpedient, illusive, and unphilosophical;" but the bounty bill which he previously defended and advocated limited the amount of compensation and the period for which it should be paid. The height of his incongruous statements is reached, however, when he says that the amendment to the present bill, limiting payments under its operations, if enacted into law, to $9,000,000 annually, would make the bill become

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"more inconsistent and deceptive." In my opinion, this amendment literally destroys his elaborate calculations showing a possible expenditure of hundreds of millions or of billions of dollars. The physical conditions existing in our shipyards, as he showed in 1891, in official statements as Commissioner of Navigation, which I shall quote, make it impossible to construct a larger tonnage than would involve an expense averaging five millions of dollars per year. There has been no appreciable increase in American shipyards since 1891 ; and the limitations of that year are substantially applicable to the present year, in the matter of new constructions. Capt. Bates ought to know, from his own investigations and studies, and from his own public statements, that the limitation of payments to $9,000,000 in any one year would not in any way abridge the amount of shipbuilding possible in American shipyards during the life of the act. This limitation was placed in the bill, as he must know, to make it impossible for any one to assert that the measure, if adopted, would lead to unlimited and enormous payments. When similar assertions were made concerning the bounty bill he advocated and defended eight years ago, he refuted them with great vigor.

The tonnage bounty bill of 1890–91, as urged for adoption by Capt. Bates, provided for a compensation of three cents per gross ton for each hundred miles sailed outward and inward by American vessels in the foreign trade, during a period of ten years, with provision for a 10 per cent per annum reduction therefrom, during the succeeding ten years. In order to secure fast steamships for mail and passenger carriage, Capt. Bates advocated a postal subsidy bill to provide what he considered adequate compensation for such steamships, which compensation was not provided in the tonnage bounty bill. The bill he now opposes in THE FORUM provides compensation for a period of twenty years of one and one-half cents a gross ton for each 100 miles sailed by American vessels in the foreign trade for the first 1,500 miles of the voyage outward and inward, and one cent per gross ton for each 100 miles of the voyage beyond 1,500 miles. It is apparent, therefore, that the present measure which Capt. Bates antagonizes is much more conservative than the tonnage bill he favored in 1890. The bill now opposed by Capt. Bates makes provision for additional compensation to fast mail steamships, as did the postal-service bill recommended by him in 1890–91.

While he was Commissioner of Navigation, and testifying before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, during the

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public hearings on the tonnage bounty bill, in 1890, Capt. Bates went minutely into the subject of the probable compensation that would be given under the bill. In considering the tonnage then in existence in the foreign trade, under our flag—which was then one-third larger than it is now—the period during which this compensation would be expended, and the probable increase that would occur under the stimulus of the bill, he said :

"From these figures it may be confidently stated that for the first year bounty payments at the rate of three-tenths of a mill per mile navigated would not exceed in amount $4,000,000."

Subsequently the bill was amended ; whereupon he wrote to the Chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries —amending his estimates because of the amendments to the bill— stating that during the first year $3,360,741 would be required, and adding :

"This is a reduction of 20 per cent for sail and 10 per cent for steam vessels. I would estimate the annual increase of bounty payments at 5 per cent for some years to come. At this rate, *which I think is all we may expect*, it would be eight years before the bounty would amount to $5,000,000 in any year."

He now asserts that the bill which he is opposing would, if unobstructed by the $9,000,000 limitation, involve a payment of $48,374,015 in the eighth year ; although this bill is not half so liberal, in regard to the general run of vessels, as the tonnage bounty bill which he indorsed.

When the bounty bill was again amended he again revised his estimates as to the payments that would be required under the bill. Before quoting from this letter, which was written in the capacity of Commissioner of Navigation to the Chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, under date of January 1, 1891, let us examine what he said in his great work, "The American Marine," published in 1892. On page 413 of that work we find :

"The tonnage bill had two faults induced by a desire of the Committee on Marine to be as saving as possible of bounty money. The first was starting the scale of bounties at twenty cents a ton, instead of twenty-five cents at least ; and the second was limiting the payment of bounty on a single voyage to seven thousand, instead of ten thousand, miles. Otherwise it was perfect."

In 1892 it was possible for Capt. Bates to see and to say that a tonnage bounty bill could be "perfect." On page 416 of "The American Marine," preceding the republication of his letter of January 1, 1891, referred to above, he says :

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"After the opening of the debate upon the bill, the opposition set up that the cost of the measure would run up into the hundreds of millions, and again the Commissioner of Navigation (himself) was requested to state the possible extent of the cost under the conditions named."

Refuting these assertions, Commissioner of Navigation Bates prepared an elaborate table showing that the cost of the first year would be $2,003,700, and of the tenth year, $8,101,300—or, as he says, an average of $4,718,600 per year for ten years. Taking into consideration the vessels likely to go out of service, the repairs that would be needed to keep some in existence, and the new tonnage likely to be built, Capt. Bates said, in the letter referred to:

"So great an increase of building and repairing, especially of iron and steel steam tonnage, some of it of great power and speed, could not be accomplished by the yards and shops now engaged in the business, but many new ones would have to be started, and thousands of mechanics set at work to turn out the tonnage thus estimated. . .

"From these facts it may be judged that it would be impossible to turn out more steam tonnage than I have estimated in the table even if we doubled the number of our yards and shops and trebled the number of our mechanics in three years' time. It will be fortunate if we can do so much for our country's good."

Capt. Bates denounces subsidies and bounties in his FORUM article; but, in 1892, in his work, "The American Marine," speaking of bounties, he said:

"Since statesmanship first sought the furtherance of national interest in any special direction, bounties, rewards, or honors have been the means employed. . . In our own country the giving of bounties, premiums, and medals to stimulate improvements and reward public benefactors has been so common that the principle is popular and well understood."

If the country had followed Capt. Bates's advice in 1891, and had passed his tonnage bounty bill, nothing but good, he claimed, would have been accomplished for American shipping. But he now asserts in THE FORUM:

"'Compensation,'" which is the word used for bounty in the bill he now opposes, "is nothing but tribute money."

In "The American Marine" he says:

"But bounty, subsidy, and subvention are near relations. In no sense are they gratuities; these are given without an equivalent or recompense, without claim or merit, as alms to relieve a beggar. . . It is a narrow-minded conception of the function of government that public improvement must be confined to the land, and no money expended for the national advantage at sea."

In THE FORUM he says: "Thus it may be shown by the test of cost alone—not to speak of others—that no form of national bounty can

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fully solve the problem of an American marine in the foreign trade." And yet, in his "The American Marine," he argued :

"The shipping protection given by the Republic of France, being general, as it should be, is the best foreign example, if we need one. The bounty paid, as protection, is free to all sea-going craft, sail as well as steam."

But, as has been said, Capt. Bates did not rely wholly upon his tonnage bounty bill to give us the merchant shipping we needed ; for, in his annual report as Commissioner of Navigation, written in the fall of 1890, he remarked :

"While the tonnage or bounty bill, on account of its general application, is of first importance for the rehabilitation of our marine in the foreign trade, it can be said for the postal-service bill that the tonnage measure would be incomplete without its passage also ; for we could not otherwise obtain the speed which is necessary for the carriage of mails and passengers on the main lines of traffic ; nor could we, in any way, so well acquire and keep in readiness swift fleets of steamers for naval cruising service in time of war. The production of vessels for the carriage of cargo, at economical rates of speed, is the most that should be expected from the action of the tonnage bill."

The postal-service bill, as originally drawn, and as it first passed the Senate, provided for four classes of compensation, based on speed and size, which provisions were cut down one-third on final passage. Capt. Bates, however, recommended five different classes and varying rates of compensation ; his second, third, and fourth rates being higher in amount of compensation than was provided for in the postal-service bill before amendment.

In the September FORUM Capt. Bates asks :

"What shall be done in the matter ? The question is one of statesmanship. Viewed aright it is simple enough. The principle of our early ship protection was stated by Mr. Madison to be this : 'The making of a preference for our vessels in our own commerce.' It was the natural thing to do. On no other principle could the fathers have succeeded ; on no other can we succeed to-day ; on no other did any nation ever succeed in building up and continuing a just degree of shipping power."

Madison's policy was that of discriminating import and tonnage duties. And yet, in his report as Commissioner of Navigation, in 1890, reviewing the minority report on the tonnage bounty bill, which report was signed by Gen. Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, Capt. Bates says :

"Mr. Wheeler says :

"' We should modify our laws and treaties so as to lessen duties upon merchandise imported in American ships.'

"This was the old way of ship protection. It will no doubt be again revived. In a few years we shall most likely see the French return to differential duties. Mean-

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while they have prepared their marine for the change to be made by increasing its steam efficiency. We must do likewise. Our marine is not now in condition to serve the nation to advantage as it will be ten years hence if due protection be given. Then the payment of bounties may cease and differential duties take their place. It is not the fault of our shipowners but of the Government itself that our marine has fallen to its present low condition. This interest is a national one. Our shipowners have manfully done their duty and have nothing but our Government to be ashamed of. It is for the Government to restore what it has taken away from our marine and to lift it up on the plane where it belongs. The way to begin this work is by a bounty system. A system that will act immediately and efficaciously. A system that will especially increase our exports as differential duties cannot do and never did do. Differential duties will give us the import trade but not necessarily the export trade to the same extent. Bounties will give us ultimately the control of both trades. For the present all in favor of an American marine must vote for bounties."

The present Commissioner of Navigation estimates that the bill which Capt. Bates attacked in the September FORUM will never involve payments from the national treasury exceeding nine millions of dollars, and that the average will be from five to six millions of dollars for twelve or fifteen years. This measure seemed to have the support of the Administration during the last session of Congress; since it conformed to the recommendations in the President's annual message, and to those in the reports of Mr. Gage, the Secretary of the Treasury, and of Mr. Chamberlain, the Commissioner of Navigation. The bill had the support of members of both the great political parties in Congress. It was reported without opposition from the Senate Committee on Commerce, and was favorably reported by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. If it should become a law, and its provisions should be accepted by our shipowners, present and prospective, these will be compelled to construct at least 600,000 tons of new shipping in American shipyards within five years.

The United States is now confronted with the fact that the ships of other nations are built more cheaply and operated for less money than are American ships. In addition, foreign nations pay to their merchant shipping subsidies, subventions, and bounties aggregating $25,000,000 a year. If American ships are to compete, their owners must be fortified to meet the unequal conditions against them; while the aid that will be given by future ships and seamen in the event of war makes compensation doubly justifiable. Such aid will give us, as Thomas Jefferson once said in a great state paper, the home-built ships and citizen seamen essential to the national defence. It will not lead us into any of those diplomatic tangles which are inevitable when the policy of discriminating duty is adopted; and the bounty

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system, being patterned after foreign policies, will necessarily estop foreign governments from offering objection to its adoption.

The writer was a pronounced advocate of discriminating duties until he learned that the treaty complications, inevitable through its adoption, dissuaded the Administration and the leaders in Congress from favoring that policy. He now favors the bill here discussed; believing it to afford a common ground upon which even those holding contrary views can readily stand. This measure was drafted by a committee of shipowners, shipbuilders, Senators, Representatives, and others, after a careful consideration for two years of the different policies mooted; and it has the support of those in Congress whose advocacy is essential to the passage, during the life of the Fifty-sixth Congress, of any measure for the upbuilding of our merchant marine. If we are to have any shipping legislation during the next two years, it is obvious to those who are even superficially informed that it must be upon the lines of the bill favorably reported by both Congressional Committees at the last session of Congress. Opponents of that bill will surely command the support of the foreign shipping interests that will be menaced by its passage. ALEXANDER R. SMITH.

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PHILADELPHIA'S WATER: A STORY OF MUNICIPAL PROCRASTINATION.

A MODERN adaptation of the old adage, that "procrastination is the thief of time," would run, "Procrastination is the thief of municipal franchises." We lost our Gas Works through procrastination; we continue to buy electric light at exorbitant prices because of procrastination; and we bid fair to lose our Water Works unless we discontinue our policy of procrastination.

The story of the leasing of our Municipal Gas Works has passed into history. If the elder Dumas were living he might have, with propriety, included it in his "Celebrated Crimes." In 1888 the city entered into a contract with the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company for the supply of water gas. This contract was for $299,985. Each year it was renewed for a larger sum; until, in 1897, the year of the lease, the amount had grown to $681,438. Contemporaneously, city officials found it more and more difficult to secure sufficient appropriations to maintain the plant, much less to improve it. Indeed, while the lease was under discussion it was distinctly charged, both in speech and in print, that the two sets of facts were related to each other as cause and effect. These charges were never successfully controverted, nor, so far as I remember, even denied. Given corporate greed and activity, with official subservience and connivance, and the end is not difficult to forecast. We know in Philadelphia from experience what the outcome will be.

The time was always coming when, through the introduction of more advanced methods of manufacture, we were to have better gas. Investigating Committees were frequently appointed, and their recommendations were always directed to that end. The administrative officials were constantly calling attention to the really desperate need for improvement, both in methods of manufacture and means of distribution. The results, in every case, however, were the same. The day for the inauguration of the new and aggressive policy never seemed to arrive. It was always postponed for a brief time on some pretext or another, usually because just at that time the city's funds

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were not quite sufficient. They were always in satisfactory shape, however, when the Improvement Company's appropriation came up.

Procrastination had its effect; and Philadelphia parted with her gas franchise for thirty years. During this period its inhabitants will have the privilege of paying a price for gas already regarded as high, and which, with the great developments in gas manufacture constantly making, will, in the not far distant future, be exorbitant.

The story of our electric lighting, although different as to details, has the same conclusion and teaches the same lesson. When municipalities first began to utilize electricity for lighting purposes, some shrewd and far-sighted men secured the desired franchise to furnish lighting to the city and, a little later on, to private consumers. (It did not occur to our Councilmen that, after the first experiments had succeeded, it would be a good plan to establish a city plant.) Then others followed, and still others, and soon eight or ten companies had secured similar privileges and were bidding for the city and private lighting. Then some Councilmen thought we might establish a municipal plant, and estimates were secured. But nothing came of their effort; the time was not yet ripe for such a move.

Then began a series of combinations, on the part of the companies, to control prices, through the medium of the Electric Trust. Then came the period of absorption; and the Pennsylvania Heat, Light, and Power Company, which had secured an ordinance (said by its advocates, including prominent public officials, to be the most beneficent in its provisions ever suggested), gained control of practically all the local companies, and thus of the municipal electric lighting of Philadelphia.

During this growth and development suggestions to erect municipal plants, after a farce of an examination, were deferred until a more opportune time, or else were referred to committees from which they never emerged. Bids of rival companies met a similar fate, on various pretexts; and, because of this policy of procrastination, Philadelphia is now paying 31.84 cents per lamp per night for electric lighting, in the face of an offer of a responsible company to do it for 20 cents per lamp per night, and in the face of the fact that sister cities have successfully inaugurated municipal plants which supply lights at still lower rates.

The history of our struggle for an improved water supply furnishes an even stronger illustration of the direful effects of what we may call the "Policy of Procrastination," "Corporate Greed," or "Official

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Indifference." I fear the analogy between the history of the Gas Works and the history of the Water Works is stronger than some of Philadelphia's more public-spirited citizens would care to admit—especially in view of the tremendous and vital importance of the problem.

Philadelphia's growth as a manufacturing and an industrial city and as a city of small homes has been continuous for many years past. So has the public opinion which demands an increasing quantity of water for public and private use. The per capita supply per day in Philadelphia is 166.15 gallons; only one city, Buffalo, having a larger one. For at least thirty years it has been obvious to careful observers that the present source of supply, the Schuylkill River, would sooner or later prove inadequate: first, because of the rapid growth of Philadelphia, and the consequent rapid growth of the demand for water; the source of supply remaining permanent: second, because the growth of the towns and communities along the river must inevitably lead to an increased consumption of the water—not to speak of the matter of pollution.

As early as 1864, Mr. H. P. M. Berkinbine, then Chief Engineer of the Water Department, foreseeing the need of a new source of supply, investigated all the streams within a radius of forty miles of the city, and finally recommended the Perkiomen Creek. As no appropriation was forthcoming to enable the continuance of the work, the matter was abandoned; and not till 1875 was anything further done. In that year Mayor Stokley appointed a Commission of Experts "to consider the subject of the present and future water supply." This action was taken because it was felt that something must be done, in view of the approaching Centennial Exposition (1876). This Commission spoke of the Perkiomen project as "the most practical on the score of economy." But no definite recommendation was made, and nothing further was done at that time.

The next investigation was that of 1883, under the direction of Mr. Rudolph Hering, an accomplished and well-known engineer. This was undoubtedly most thorough and far-reaching. The Report of the Commission, published in 1887, recommended two plans; viz., the Perkiomen-Lehigh and the Point Pleasant Water Gap. The first project provided for the impounding of the upper Perkiomen at Green Lane, with the upper Lehigh to fall back upon as a reserve source. The second project proposed going directly to the Delaware River and taking in the water at Point Pleasant. It provided for an

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ultimate extension to the Water Gap for a gravity supply, and for the impounding of the waters of the Tohickon Creek. *At this time nothing further was done.* Hering's investigation was also used as the basis of a report by Mayor Stuart and his Director of Public Works, Mr. Windrim, made public in 1891. In this report the recommendations were combined; and it was suggested that the waters of the Tohickon be diverted to the Perkiomen Valley. This report, although at variance with some of Hering's conclusions, was no more productive of action by the Councilmen than the preceding ones. There have been no other expert investigations since, except the one instituted by Mayor Ashbridge, whose work has just been completed. I shall revert to this work later on.

These investigations, although carefully, conscientiously, and scientifically conducted, have not resulted in definite action on the part of the only set of officials who can afford relief—the Councilmen. Indeed, it seems as if they had been systematically ordered to allay popular feeling, for the time being, and to postpone action until the most generous bidder should appear. Be that as it may, nothing was done—beyond strictly adhering to the policy of procrastination.

In many instances the city's necessities have been the corporations' opportunities—notably in the case of the Gas Works. There are some of us who are afraid this will also be true of the Water Works. There have not been wanting offers in great numbers from water companies to relieve the situation. In October, 1885, the South Mountain Water Company proposed to supply the city with water for a period of fifty years. Other companies, before and since, have made similar offers. In a single month, October, 1897, the Director of Public Works was requested by the Water Committee to give his opinion concerning the ordinances offered by the Schuylkill Valley Water Company, the Philadelphia Water Supply Company, the Schuylkill Navigation Company, the Philadelphia Water and Filter Company, the Philadelphia Sanitation Company, and the Electric Rectifying and Refining Company. None seemed to prosper save one—the Schuylkill Valley Water Company. To throw some light on the reasons why it thrived while others fell by the wayside, it may be well to consider some of the facts brought out in an investigation[1] held before two judges of the Court of Common Pleas, sitting as committing magis-

[1] This investigation was conducted by District Attorney Graham, assisted by the special counsel furnished by the Municipal League of Philadelphia—former U. S. Attorney-General Wayne MacVeagh and the present writer.

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trates. This investigation was the outcome of a startling charge, made on the floor of Councils, while the bill was under consideration, by a member, one Walter N. Stevenson, to the effect that he had been offered $5,000 for his vote on the ordinance of the Schuylkill Valley Water Company.

This particular ordinance began to make headway early in 1898, against the strong protest of organizations interested in the subject, against the opposition of the press, and against the public opinion of the city. None of these circumstances, however, deterred Select Councilmen from rushing the bill through, nor Common Council from defeating a loan bill containing an item of $3,700,000 for the improvement of the water supply. The debate did not lack vigor.

On one occasion a member said:

"Who are the men who want to put this bill through? Have any of the citizens of Philadelphia appeared before the members of these Councils, either in committee or individually, and demanded or requested the passage of this bill? I think not. But interviews have been sought, Mr. President, sought with me, too, and by the author of that wicked, infamous scheme—that's the proper way to put it—which is not sanctioned by anybody except those interested in its profits.

"Where has been derived the great skill, or the great knowledge of this great water question, which gave the sub-committee the ability to decide instantly on the proper solution of a problem which has bothered the master minds of able engineers for years?

"There is but one thing to do with this bill. Kill it. Stamp it under foot as you would a snake that threatened you with harm."

The Chairman of the Water Committee, who had persistently fought the ordinance, but unavailingly, said, in the course of the same debate:

"I feel perfectly satisfied that the inspiration that is behind this bill is not of the Presbyterian kind, although it comes from the Witherspoon Building. I do hope that there are enough members of this chamber who will not play 'Trilby' to the Witherspoon Building gentleman's 'Svengali.'

"I want now to refer to a serious phase of this question. Last week a member dangled the bones of typhoid fever skeletons before this chamber; and yet this gentleman's whole argument would go to show that he is in favor of fastening upon the city for fifty years to come the very cause of the typhoid epidemic."

This referred to the proposition contained in the ordinance to make the Schuylkill River the source of supply for fifty years to come.

A few days later another interesting colloquy took place; but this had no effect beyond confirming the general impression which had already prevailed, that improper means had been employed to advance the ordinance. One of its advocates, who had quite a reputation as a

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local preacher, resented certain aspersions upon his attitude; whereupon his colleague retorted:

"Whatever may have been my ambitions in other directions, I have never aspired to be a preacher. . . I have at times, however, found some interest and enlightenment as the result of reading the Holy Book. I call to memory now that among the Proverbs which made Solomon famous for his wisdom, there is a saying to the effect that 'the wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are as bold as a lion.' The gentleman from the 28th: 'That's me.' The gentleman from the 16th: 'The gentleman can show that he has the boldness and courage of the righteous by adopting the suggestion I gave him the other day; i.e., to ask for an investigation.' . . There is another saying of Solomon. I think it is to this effect: 'He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house.' . . Now, Mr. President, there comes to my memory also some of the things that were written by Paul in his Epistles. One is to the effect that 'the love of money is the root of all evil, which some reaching after have been led astray.' There is another one: 'The deacons must be grave, not double tongued, not given to much wine, nor greedy after filthy lucre.'"

Neither spirited opposition nor plain speaking nor scriptural quotation nor aroused public opinion sufficed to stop the progress of the ordinance. It went through Select Council by a good majority. It was also making excellent headway through the lower branch, when Councilman Stevenson startled his colleagues and the community by announcing from his place that he had been offered $5,000 if he would agree to vote for the ordinance. This killed the project.

Before the investigating court, the circumstances of the offer were made clear; implicating a prominent politician and lobbyist and a well-known ward worker. The latter was duly indicted; but he was acquitted, because his accuser made a mistake in the day the offer was made, enabling the defendant to prove an alibi. The investigation disclosed further and equally important facts. One Select Councilman, under the skilful cross-examination of the District Attorney, admitted that he had received $500 in cash from a lobbyist for his vote in committee, and had been offered, by a colleague, $5,000 for his vote in the chamber. This $500 had been paid, so he testified, by a Common Councilman—who, by the way, has been since made a Select Councilman—in his saloon, and in the presence of another Councilman, who, he said, received the same amount.

There have been other propositions introduced since that of the Schuylkill Valley Water Company; but thus far none seems to have been sufficiently "inspired" to command the support of Councilmen.

The water problem in Philadelphia, however, involves something more than a new source of supply. It includes, besides, the preven-

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tion of waste, the appropriation of sufficient funds to prevent the starvation of the works, and the purification of the present source pending the securing of a new one.

The Water Bureau has time and again called attention to the need for introducing water meters and other devices to prevent waste, but to no avail. This year, however, Councils have passed an ordinance increasing the ratings on hopper closets, which, when it goes into effect, on January 1, 1900, will result in the introduction of more approved and economical devices. Some idea of the wastefulness of the hopper closets may be had from the figures furnished by the Water Bureau. At fifteen pounds pressure 10,000 gallons of water will pass through one of these closets in twenty-four hours, or 3,650,000 gallons in a year; and it is estimated that there are 100,000 of them in the city!

A most serious danger has arisen from the refusal of Councils to appropriate money for extensions and improvements. I have no legal evidence to offer to sustain the proposition that there has been a deliberate attempt to starve the works; but the figures certainly justify such a suspicion. In a late report on the subject—March 28, 1899—the Manufacturers' Club Committee said:

Year after year when the Department sends in its estimates, the appropriations are omitted entirely, as witness the records of the last three years:

Appropriations asked for extension and improvements, other than repairs of reservoirs, have been

	Estimates.	Appropriations.
1896	$2,835,150	$1,000.
1897	3,327,750	
1898	3,863,750	

These figures tell their own story.

To quote a little further from this report:

"At Fairmount funds are needed *to repair the roof* (italics mine) and protect costly machinery, which has for years been in such a disgraceful condition that it cannot be shown to visitors. . . At Queen Lane . . . there is practically no coal storage at all, as the appropriation for the plant designed by the Department has never been granted. . . At Belmont the largest engine has stood for four years unprotected, except by a rude frame house erected over it by employees of the Bureau. . . The Belmont and Roxboro high service stations have each only one pump, any accident to which would throw the entire plant out of service and immediately deprive the district of water."

This is only a part of a long and dreary recital of what should be looked upon as an intolerable condition.

If Councils should take the necessary steps to secure a new source of supply and to prevent waste and starvation, the city would still need

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relief in the direction of the purification of our present supply, pending the erection of a new plant. As we are apparently no nearer to the new source than we were ten years ago, it would seem imperative that we should introduce filter plants to purify the water now furnished us.

But the same story of "mañana" follows the efforts to secure filtration. On February 25, 1892, Select Council passed an ordinance authorizing the construction of a ten-million-gallon filtration plant at Lardner's Point, at a cost of $150,000; but Common Council postponed it. On May 12, 1892, Select Council passed another ordinance authorizing a similar plant at Belmont; but again Common Council postponed action. On June 16, 1892, both chambers agreed to an ordinance authorizing the Department to advertise for proposals. Although the reports of the Bureau for 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1895 strongly urged that an appropriation be passed to give effect to the ordinance of 1892, nothing was done in the matter. In the meantime, Mr. Frank J. Firth's Committee of Fifty took the matter up and pressed it vigorously; and on March 26, 1895, Mayor Stuart transmitted to Councils, with a favorable recommendation, this Committee's request to be granted permission to erect an experimental plant at Shawmont, without expense to the city. Select Council passed an ordinance to this effect, but Common Council postponed it. Again, on April 4, the former body passed a similar ordinance, and then, after six weeks' delay, the latter body graciously concurred, but in such a way as to convince the companies of their insincerity; and the advantageous offers were withdrawn.

On November 21, 1895, this Committee had another ordinance introduced. It was reported from the Finance Committee, but died in the Water Committee. On February 6, 1896, another filtration ordinance was introduced. This passed Select Council, and received a majority in Common Council, but not the necessary two-thirds. The argument of the opposition was to this effect:

"There's no use testing filtration; we know all about it; it makes the water clear; but it doesn't take out the dangerous germs. Subsidence is much more effective. When it stands in a reservoir a few days, the germs starve. What we need is more reservoirs."

When one of these profound philosophers was arguing thus, he was asked, "What about the results at Lawrence, Massachusetts?" He nonchalantly replied, "I don't know, and I don't believe them."

Chief Trautwine, of the Bureau of Water—who, by the way, is a

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most efficient officer, but greatly hampered by his political surroundings—soon set at rest the argument about subsidence, by a few practical experiments which showed that at the end of forty-eight hours the number of bacteria had been reduced about 15 per cent, and then remained unchanged.

I could enumerate at length the further efforts, under the leadership of the City Organizations' Filtration Committee, composed of representatives from bodies like the Board of Trade, the Trades League, the Operative Builders' Exchange, the Drug, Coal, and Produce Exchanges, the Municipal League, the Municipal Association, the Life Underwriters' Association, the College of Physicians, the Pennsylvania State League of Building Associations, the United Labor League, the University of Pennsylvania, the Engineers' Club, the Civic Club, the Women's Health Protective Association, and the Manufacturers' Club; but the results are the same—postponement, delay, procrastination.

Early in the present year the Municipal League, realizing the seriousness of the situation, called a mass meeting of citizens to consider it. Out of this meeting, which overcrowded the Assembly Room of the Bourse on a very stormy night, grew an Emergency Committee, representative of the most influential citizens of the city. This Committee was rightly named. It proceeded to take emergency measures, but with what result? I quote from the "Ledger" of March 24, 1899:

"Select Council yesterday defeated the bill to appropriate $3,200,000 from the $11,200,000 loan, for the improvement, extension, and filtration of the water supply; the vote being 24 yeas to 13 nays, less than two-thirds of the members elect (27) required to pass an appropriation bill, voting in the affirmative. A delegation of 25 or 30 members of the Citizens' Emergency Committee on Water, headed by Chairman Waterall, saw the bill's defeat, having been given the unusual privilege of being spectators on the floor of the chamber, after a long debate; while men said to be connected with the Quaker City Water Company and other well-known lobbyists and opponents of the bill were on guard in the rooms adjoining the Council Chamber, conferring and consulting with the members who were fighting the bill."

This time a new excuse was invented and brought into play; viz., "As the new Mayor is about to assume office, he should be consulted." It is true Selectman Crothers said:

"Why should there be a halt until the new Mayor is inaugurated? Mayor Warwick has recommended and urged legislation to purify the water. What else can Mayor Ashbridge do? Must we wait until after April 3 to hear the new Mayor recommend substantially what the old Mayor has urged?"

But wait they did.

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On April 7, 1899, Mayor Ashbridge submitted to Councils his water message. It recommended:

"(1) That steps shall be taken at once to effect a curtailment of waste. If waste is checked the water in the reservoirs will be given a chance to subside, and the undesirable effects of direct pumpage will be removed. (2) An appropriation for immediate repairs, not less than $1,000,000, to put them in complete and satisfactory condition. (3) The appointment of a commission of three experts, with an appropriation of $25,000 for their expenses, to report on the question of filtration and the extension and improvement of the water system."

Councils passed an ordinance raising the rate for hopper closets from $1 to $5; appropriated $250,000 for repairs; and *very promptly* authorized the appointment of the Commission, with the necessary appropriation for expenses. Councils are always ready for an investigation of this kind.

The Mayor's experts have recommended sand filtration of the water taken from the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers; and estimated the cost of the necessary plants at $11,000,000. Mayor Ashbridge has cordially endorsed their report, and in a special message to Councils urged immediate action in the way of the submission of an ordinance authorizing an increase of our indebtedness by $12,000,000 to cover the cost. Public opinion had been so thoroughly aroused that Councils did not dare withstand its demand for prompt action. The submission ordinance was duly passed; and on November 7, the citizens will have an opportunity to vote on it. This much is a clear gain; but judging from past experiences we are by no means out of danger. The loan bill of 1897 is only now available, after nearly two years of dilatory litigation. Then the money must be formally appropriated, the contracts given out, and the work completed. Then Philadelphia will have clean filtered water; but the older and the larger problem of a new source of supply will remain for solution. On this point the experts made no recommendation. CLINTON R. WOODRUFF.

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EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

THE century now closing has made rich contributions to the science and the art of the higher education, as it has to the art and the science of every form of human endeavor. It has enlarged the property of the colleges of America from a very small sum to almost a half billion of dollars. It has extended and enriched the course of study, and has also diversified it to fit the needs of the individual student. It has uplifted, dignified, and humanized the whole system of college education. These results are fixed, and for them gratitude is common and hearty.

The century now closing is turning over to the century that is beginning questions which are as significant and as essential as the questions which already have been settled. The new questions grow out of the past, and they relate to the future. They are questions at once new and old. Such, be it said, is the progress of humanity. Every problem solved is the origin of other problems to be solved. In this method lies the hope of the race. When men have no questions to ask not only has the lip become paralyzed, but the brain has become atrophied.

Of the many questions which the nineteenth century transmits to the twentieth several seem to me of significant value.

(1) The first of these questions relates to uniting in the studies and the methods of the higher education the principle of unity and the principle of individuality. The college has developed in the last third of the nineteenth century the principle of individuality. It has developed this principle largely through the elective system of studies. It has allowed, if not commanded, the individual student to select those studies which he thinks are best fitted for his own peculiar needs. It has recognized that no two men are alike any more than two leaves of the same tree are alike, as Leibnitz pointed out long ago. It is affirmed that this unlikeness is best and most adequately ministered unto through different subjects of thought and of learning. It has seen that what is one student's meat may be another student's poison, or if not

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poison, it may be to the other student sawdust; and what is to one student poison or sawdust may be to another student meat and drink. The college has not failed to recognize that what is food to a student in one period of his career may not be food to him at all in the other periods of his career. All this and much more has been worked out and put onto the shelves of our intellectual storehouse.

But the colleges have made but small use of the opposite principle, which is also one of the great results of the century; namely, the principle of unity—a principle which is not more true in the realm of nature than in the realm of mind. Man is ever the same man. The soul is ever the same soul. The mind that asks manifold questions in youth is the same mind that asks its less manifold, but hardly less important, questions of nature and humanity in its maturity. If every man is unlike every other man, it is also true that he is always unlike every other man; he maintains his personal identity. As matter is the same matter under many forms, so man is the same man under all the changes through which he passes and which work their works in and on him.

The principle of unity and the principle of individuality both have their special advantages and limitations. The principle of unity tends to become sameness, monotonousness. It lacks picturesqueness, as applied to human character. It exemplifies the prairie in human life. It stands for one wide and far-reaching level of uniformity. Man is the same man, noble, noble; mean, mean; great, always great; and small, always small. One knows where to find him who embodies this principle; one forecasts what answer he will give to every question; one anticipates what opinions he will hold under certain conditions; and one can measure his convictions of the next week by his convictions of the last.

But this principle of unity also possesses for one's self and for humanity at large many and fine advantages. Man is like the mountains, not like the weathercock which shows which way the wind blows; but he is also like the eternal hills which determine which way the wind shall blow. He is firm and fixed. He represents the conservative element of human society. There is nothing uncertain or wavering about him. He knows what he knows; he believes what he believes; and he needs no one to convince him of his convictions. He is typed in the force of gravitation—an element not fixed, but one which moves through all things and guides them by unalterable laws. The principle of individuality, also, is beset by corresponding advantages and disadvantages. It gives variety to life. It is the mother of interest.

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It is both the cause and the result of development. It stands for life; and life is never in general, but life is always in particular, and life is always full of fascination. It represents the progress of being, which is always in and through individuals. But individuality, be it said, tends to become eccentricity. If it grow into the graciousness of righteousness and goodness and into the superlative excellence of beauty, it also grows into wickedness and into the pessimistic degradation of sin and of ugliness.

In education, as in all life and nature, these two principles of unity and individuality are to be joined. The ocean is the same ocean, although the same tides never sweep over its beaches. The sun is the same sun, although not two risings or settings are identical. The world is the same world, although no two springtimes are alike in their sweet fragrance or in their mighty and silent growths. In the higher education the two principles are to be joined. The nineteenth century has given us the principle of individuality; the twentieth century is to associate this principle with the principle of unity as the nineteenth has not associated it. We are to learn that the boy is father to the man, or that the man is the son of the boy. We are to draw a straight line from the primary school to the professional. We are to strive to make character more consistent without making it less interesting, more solid without making it less picturesque, more conservative without causing it to become less progressive, more fixed without causing it to lose adaptiveness. The man we take off of the commencement platform we desire to be the same man whom, as a boy, four years before, we sent to college; only we wish him to be finer, nobler, greater.

The union of unity and individuality as applied to the curriculum and to the students' use of the curriculum will tend to do away with that bane of our educational system, a *haphazardness* in the choice of studies. This union will give directness in aim; and directness in aim will contribute to force in execution and administration; and force thus used will add to consistency and general worthiness. The studies of the freshman year will be chosen in the light of the needs of the senior year; and both years will derive their purpose from what the man desires to know and to be after his college career. This union will not simply give us studies which a man may make into backbone, as it is usually called—for a back-bone implies also other bones running at right angles to the chief one—but this union will give us a whole system of studies articulated, each to all and all to each, and all

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going to make up a consistent and vigorous personality, filled with one spirit, guided by one purpose, moved with one will, and living one life.

(2) The next century will also give us aid in determining the law of diminishing and increasing returns in studies. What this law is we have begun to learn from experimentation. We have learned that a language, be it ancient or modern, dead or alive, may continue to grow in its power over the student until he is possessed of the spirit of its literature, and of the people out of whom it grew and whom it in turn helped to create. The first three or four years in the study of Latin or Greek are the least profitable. The fifth and sixth years are, and should be, the most valuable. In the first period the study of a language is good ; and it is good chiefly as a training in the important element of discrimination ; and it is worthy of studying even if one pursues it no longer or further. But when one has become in a degree the master of a language, as, for instance, of the Latin, he is prepared to become a sympathetic student of these peoples themselves, to know what they were, to understand the institutions in which their life was embodied, to think as they thought, to feel as they felt, to see out of their eyes, and to hear with their ears. He thus causes the life of this one nation—one of the four which have contributed most largely to our modern humanity—to become an integral part of his own life.

But this study has its limitations. For the student may, after six years of reading and of reflection upon the institutions of Rome, become conscious that he is not getting the benefit from these studies that once he received. The minute investigation may prove to be of comparative worthlessness. He has entered into the narrowing margin of profit. He gets less and less for a larger and larger expenditure. The same principle in its application of diminishing or increasing returns applies to mathematics or to the sciences or, indeed, to any subject. The deductive reasoning of mathematics is less early reached in its fulness of view, in the case of most students, than is the inductive reasoning of chemistry and of the other physical sciences.

In the case of all scientific subjects there comes a time when the power of observation as embodied in experiments, or the power of inference as trained by these experiments or as trained in mathematical reasoning, has reached its normal fulness. It is possible, of course, still to discipline the mental faculties chiefly concerned in mathematical or scientific reasoning, and the process might, apparently, go on forever ; but the returns resulting from this expenditure greatly di-

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minish. History is the one subject in which for most students the law of returns shows that the results are the richer the longer it is pursued. The primary studies in history are comparatively of small value. The later studies, touching the people or the race, become more valuable as the attention to its essential conditions and relations is the more minute.

But I have said enough to indicate the importance of this question, which the nineteenth century transmits to the twentieth. The answer which will be given to it will help to lessen the number of scholastic degenerates, which, although small, is still large enough to awaken pity. The apocryphal case of the man who, on his death-bed, sorrowed because he had not confined himself to the dative case is by no means the worst example. The man himself was a fool ; and, what is more, whenever the story is told it may help to make equally foolish fools of other men.

(3) A third question which is transferred to the next age relates to the uniting of a wider inclusiveness of students of ordinary abilities with the giving of special training to the ablest students. A college education should become yet more common for common men ; and also a college education should become yet more precious for the best men. We are now educating more than one man to every one thousand of the population—a larger proportion than ever obtained in this country or than now obtains in any other country of the world. But this relative superiority should be still further enhanced. Every man and every woman should receive just as high and rich an education as possible. Education should become common, indeed ; but the peril is that in making education common we are neglecting the uncommon man. The need of the uncommon man is great, very great. The American people is peculiarly volatile. Its emotions are easily excited. It can be stampeded with an ease which is at once a joy and a despair. The importance, therefore, of leadership is of the utmost urgency in the conduct of American affairs. Its importance cannot be overstated. The uncommon man who is poor in purse must, at all events, be educated ; and the uncommon man who is rich should not be deterred by any cause from giving himself a superlative discipline and training for life's supreme service as well as for life's smallest duties. Let the college be great in numbers, so many are the common fellows who are flocking to it. Let the college also be great because the college is the creator and the nurse of great men for great affairs.

These two conditions have a close relation to each other. Some men indicate their ability early in life ; and we know as they pass into

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their teens that they are to become highly useful members of society. Gladstone, every one at Oxford knew, was to become a great man ; but whether he would show his greatness as a bishop or an archbishop or as a prime minister no one dared to prophesy. And Gladstone in his last years wrote an article on Arthur Hallam, indicating that Hallam was a man about whom prophecies of the highest eminence clustered. But other men do not show signs of promise early. Their development is slow. From the multitude of ordinary men who come up to the college we shall get a few men of extraordinary power as manifested in life's career. It is therefore well to educate all men for the enrichment of American life and for the elevation of the type of American character. It is also worth while to educate all men for the sake of discovering the worthiest men in the general multitude.

The education for leadership has a special relation to one of the later developments of the higher education. The graduate school is the chief educational development of an institutional form in the last twenty-five years. The larger part of its students have become teachers. Of the twenty-six men who took the degree of doctor of philosophy at Harvard College at the commencement of 1898, twenty-one at once entered the profession of teaching. This result is natural and is also to be commended. In the new century, however, the graduate school should be a school not alone for teachers, but for men of all educational sorts and all professional conditions. To it should come, and I believe to it will come, men who propose to become doctors, lawyers, clergymen, not to secure professional training, but to secure a richer and finer training before entering upon their professional disciplines. To it the ordinary student will not come ; but the men who have means and leisure and ability should come in increasing numbers.

Because, therefore, of the length and breadth of the field of learning, and because of the high development which certain parts of this field are receiving, the next century should be prepared more than has been the present century to adopt and to use the greatest variety of educational tools—the linguistic tool, the scientific tool, the historical tool, the philosophical tool, the sociological tool. Each of these has special and peculiar values. The linguistic and the mathematical tools are the oldest, and men have learned how to use them well. They carve and cut, they form and shape and smooth, the human mind more quickly and gracefully, because of their centuries of use. The scientific tool the educator has not yet learned to use with any great efficiency. In the next age he will acquire the desired dexterity.

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(4) To unite *vitality* in the teacher with expert knowledge is another problem which the age just closing carries over into the new. Vitality is the content of a full and vigorous personality. To overestimate its importance to the teacher, or to any one whose relations are with men, is impossible. It is life, life fullest, largest, most living. It is health, health which is healthy and healthful. It is largeness of faculty and the proper action of function. It is the surplus of every sort. It is force. In its origin it is constitutional, belonging to the whole personality. In its sense of continuance and enlargement its nourishment is drawn from all that can minister to the individual welfare. In its results it is, of course, rich and splendid. Without it, no one dealing with men can hope for the noblest results. With it, whatever else a man may lack, he may be assured that he will secure not unworthy effects. It is that quality which, of all our earlier authors, was supremely possessed by the great Sir Walter; and among all living authors it is the quality which makes Kipling admirable, and which constitutes no small share of his moving force. To his task the teacher must bear this great quality of life; and from him his task must not take it away. For, be it said, the teacher is in peril lest his task do take away his life. That dull and tired eye is not an uncommon characteristic of the veteran teacher. It means that the peril of losing vitality has actually materialized. That faithfulness which is as long as the school year and as constant as the recitations, the never ceasing draught of question and answer, sending life from heart to head and from head to heart, the anxiety for the indifferent or for the evil—these and all such conditions—draw from the teacher his best and his fullest power. The teacher must be vital. School boards and school trustees are wise in judgment and sound in administration when they demand a living teacher. But school boards and school trustees are too often not wise in judgment in allowing the life of the teacher to be sapped and sucked.

But expert knowledge is also required; and expert knowledge is narrower by far, of course, than the region that vitality covers. Expert knowledge belongs to the intellect. But we know too well that the student becoming a teacher may know his subject largely, thoroughly, adequately. Has he not spent his four years in Germany and taken his doctor's degree *magna cum?* Has he not surveyed the field and written his dissertation on one small corner of the wide domain? The man of knowledge, large and exact, is constantly sought for. This equipment has been secured through years of general and special

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study. But the price so often paid for this fine and rich equipment has not found its chief element of expense in time or money, but in life. As the intellect of the student has become enlarged and enriched and trained, the vitality of the student has become drained, depleted, and impaired. How many instances there are of this sort is known to all who have followed American lads from the age of fifteen till they are thirty. Of course there are many instances of the opposite class. We know men whose intellects are trained and enlarged and enriched, and whose personality is still strong and noble. The elder Agassiz is, of course, a trite example; but also every college can furnish examples of such a worthy union. The problem of the new century will be to make the condition of vitality in the teacher not only consistent with but promotive of power of the intellect, and to make large intellectual resources the mighty minister of a vital personality.

(5) Akin to this question, and yet in certain respects distinct from it, is the question of uniting in the same personality culture and power. Culture is primarily a function of the intellect. Power is primarily a function of the will. The man of culture knows; the man of power does. The man of culture appreciates; the man of power executes. The man of culture gathers up the treasures of others; the man of power uses every fact as a tool for securing results. The man of culture is good; the man of power is good for something. The man of culture is in peril of selfishness; the man of power is in peril of rashness. The man of culture is in peril of sitting by the side of the ocean of life, careless of or indifferent to the lives that are intrusting themselves to its dangers, but appreciative of its grandeur and sublimity; the man of power is in peril of rushing into the tumultuous waves to rescue something, whether it be a log or a wrecked sailor or a bottle—he hardly knows what. The old college did not make the man of culture; but it did make the man of power. The new college is doing somewhat to make the man of culture. The new college is also doing somewhat to make the man of power. In the new century the college will exalt each purpose and will also unite them. The man of the finest culture will be also the man of the greatest power; and the man of the greatest power will be the man of the finest culture.

These two purposes of culture and power are somewhat embodied in the two special schools of the higher education. It is a notorious fact that the modern scientific school, called by various names, such as technical, polytechnical, or technological, does not train gentlemen of culture. It makes good engineers, chemists, or electricians. It does

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not make men of learning. The college does not make engineers or chemists or electricians, but it does endeavor to make men of liberal learning. The union of these two sides of our educational course would be exceedingly advantageous. Let the scientific school make the technical scholar; and, in making him such, let it also make the gentleman of culture. Let the college, in making the man of culture, make also the engineer or the chemist or the electrician. In a word, let every scientific school be a part of a college; and yet by no means should every college have a scientific school, any more than every college should have a theological seminary. Let the scientific school also be regarded as a professional school coördinated with the school of law or the school of medicine, and not as coördinate with the undergraduate college.

(6) Let me refer to one more question which the nineteenth century hands over to the twentieth. It is the central and fundamental question of the integrity of the college. The college is beset with foes on its rear and on its front. The college is between the millstones. The foe on the rear is the fitting school. The foe on the front is the professional school. The antagonist on the rear is an antagonist not because of its desire, but by reason of the conditions of the college. For the college has from time to time increased the requirements for admission to its freshman class from two to three years, and from three to four years; so that the student is tempted to jump over the college directly from the academy to the professional school. To-day, too, one sees the formation of a tendency for the academy to do the work of the freshman year. In a recent letter to me, Principal Harlan P. Amen, of Phillips Exeter Academy, says:

"I believe that a few fitting schools will soon be able to do the work of the freshman year quite as well and safely as it can be done in the largest colleges. It seems to me it would be unfortunate to do away with the freshman year in the smaller colleges. Many Harvard and Yale freshmen would, in my judgment, be better off in some of the secondary schools than in college.

"We welcome the movement at Cambridge for a three years' course as a happy solution of our special problem. If the requirements there for a degree can in any way be lessened by one or two courses, we can save many students a year in their college education. Something should be done to enable students to reach the professional schools earlier."

On the other side, the professional school is unwittingly tending to render the college impossible. The college has surrendered to the professional school in a degree through allowing courses in the professional school, in certain instances, to count also toward its own first

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degree. The college is thus in peril of losing its first year and also its last. The academy is willing, and eager, to do the first year's work. The professional school is willing to do the senior year's work. The college, on the whole, seems to be quite willing for the professional school to do at least a part of the senior year's work, as it is also manifesting no special unwillingness for the academy to do the freshman year's work. We, therefore, are left with a college not of three years, but only of two! Let it not be inferred that this condition is not a serious one; for signs of the movement do warrant the application of the word "serious" to its condition. The wise man is not so wedded or welded to the old methods which have proven beneficial as to be unwilling to substitute for them new methods which may be superior; but I do venture to say that the American people are not willing to forego the annual contribution to its best forces of thousands of men and women who have simply and nobly been trained in the colleges to see straight, to think clearly, to love the good, to choose the right, and to delight in the beautiful. The American people are not prepared to give up one iota of this general worth for the sake of a professional training a bit more efficient or for a professional knowledge a bit wider or more exact. To make this adjustment the new century is called into service. The new century will discover that this adjustment is to be made not in the professional school or in the academy, but in the grammar and the primary schools. In the grammar and the primary schools time is to be saved, better methods are to be adopted, and better teachers are to be secured.

For the solution of all these questions the nineteenth century will transmit to the new age one condition which will prove to be of value simply priceless. It is the public and special interest in education. Education has come to be recognized as one of the elemental and fundamental forces in life. It has always been an elemental and fundamental force, but it has not always been recognized as such. It now takes its deserved place with the greatest. It may now be said that it has become a stronger force than the church, of which it was formerly a function. The schoolmaster is indeed abroad. He was formerly abroad on foot; he is now abroad in the saddle; he is a commander and director and leader. In no department of life has there been a larger increase of enthusiasm or a nobler development of interest or an adoption of wiser methods. Such a condition represents the best force for the solution of the problems of the future which the old century gives to the new.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

In writing upon the attitude of the workers, it is not my purpose to advocate any particular principle or policy, or to defend a special class of propagandists. It will be my aim, rather, to follow the development of opinion, and to indicate its general trend and possible outcome.

To this end it will be necessary to consider not only the main currents of thought that appear on the surface, but also those deeper influences which are steadily augmenting the stream, and perhaps diverting its course. We all would welcome the enactment of measures mitigating the horrors of warfare; we all believe in international fraternization; but no one nation has yet shown that it can rise superior to provocation and exhibit a continuous philosophic calm. Thus, while the principles of universal brotherhood have ever met with the sanction of the intelligent, the conditions governing men and nations have hitherto been such that "peace, harmony, and concord," although recognized in theory, have been rarely applied in practice.

In principle, we all indorse arbitration as an excellent means for the settlement of industrial disputes; but this does not prevent the constant recurrence of strikes and lockouts everywhere. It is not necessary to enter into details concerning these here: they are a common product of every civilized country. In the encounters between striking miners and *gendarmes* at Bochum, in Westphalia, thirty-six arrests were made, three men were killed, and many were wounded—not an unusual statement, but merely indicative of those sectional disturbances which are ever becoming more frequent.

The workmen engaged in these struggles unhesitatingly denounce the capitalists as their bitter opponents; while the employers are equally ready to treat the men not only as personal adversaries, but as enemies of the public welfare. These one-sided views will undoubtedly continue to prevail for a long time among the majority on both sides; and struggles innumerable will inevitably result. Still, many are of the opinion that with the development of ideas concerning this

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matter, the minority on either side will evince a desire to get at fundamental facts, and endeavor to deal with the industrial problem scientifically. This stage must be attained before industrial peace can be secured. So long as one side is disposed to cast all the blame upon the other, progress will be impossible.

We may facilitate our inquiry by formulating the following question: To what demands on the part of either side may the present industrial struggles be traced? Owing to the fierceness of trade-competition, it is to the pecuniary advantage of every firm to obtain all the factors of production as cheaply as possible. As labor is a factor of production, employers are constrained to maintain a comparatively low wage-figure. The workers, on the other hand, naturally wish to dispose of their sole commodity, labor, at the highest price. The best time to secure an advantage, either in the form of an increase of wages or a reduction of working hours, is when trade is relatively brisk. Most movements, therefore, are initiated by the men during the busy season; and the converse holds true of employers. If there were no other important reasons the situation would be simple enough; and the only requisite would be the establishment of courts of arbitration. But within the past thirty years the situation has changed. Socialism has stepped to the front in various countries, and has proved a very disturbing factor. The issues which it presents can no longer be ignored, but must be met. To understand the question thoroughly it is necessary to investigate the demands of the socialists, their methods of procedure, and the extent of their influence upon the trade-unions.

In 1869 a bill aiming at the legal establishment of trade-unions was submitted to Parliament. Not until 1871, however, was the passage of this bill secured. At that time the trade-unions and the co-operative societies were the only labor organizations in Great Britain which sought to elevate the industrial status of the working classes. Yet even these organizations unquestioningly accepted the capitalist system as a matter of course: they could not conceive of an industrial order upon a coöperative or collectivist basis. Finally, about fifteen years ago, the principles of socialism began to be vigorously promulgated by the Social Democrats; and since then socialism has been slowly but steadily spreading throughout the British Isles. The effect has been entirely to change the views of many workmen regarding the use they should make of political power. They now also recognize the utility of the trade-union. In short, the acceptance of socialistic principles has undoubtedly engendered a high degree of political activity

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among workingmen. The socialists are already recognized as a great power on the Continent; their influence in America is constantly increasing; and no labor question can therefore be discussed without taking this element into consideration. Before proceeding, however, I wish to state that, although a socialist, my purpose here is not to make a propaganda for the movement, but to institute, as far as possible, a critical and impartial examination of the facts as they present themselves to me.

In Great Britain there are to-day 1,650,000 trade-unionists, 25 to 30 per cent of whom are socialists; and yet, eighteen years ago there was not a single socialist within the ranks. The non-socialist believes that it is impossible to get rid of poverty, as trade depressions cannot be avoided. The socialist, on the other hand, claims that trade depressions are the outcome of the capitalist system of production for profit instead of for use, and that by coöperative or collectivist action the poverty of the masses could be effectively guarded against. He maintains that wealth is the product of labor spent on raw material; that the power of man over raw material and the forces of nature is greater now than ever before; that, therefore, with organized coöperation we could have efficiency of production with equitable distribution.

The socialist, finding that individual and sectional efforts have not resulted in securing the common well-being, proposes gradually to supersede sectional effort exerted for sectional advantage, by general or collectivist effort exerted in behalf of the public weal. He would not take from any property or value what rightfully belongs to it, but would gradually secure to those who do the work, and thereby create the wealth, the legitimate results of their efforts; thus putting a stop to exploitation. Under the individualist or capitalist system, the trade-unionist, at old age, finds himself engaged in a terrible struggle to keep outside of the poor-house. The socialist, on the other hand, shows that by securing to the workers who produce wealth the full reward of their labor—minus state charges—ample provision could be made for the aged and infirm, while children could be kept at school for a longer period than at present. The socialist, in short, is in favor of applying scientific principles to insure efficiency of production and ethical principles to insure equitable distribution.

It is not astonishing that such principles, when sustained by fair argument, should be accepted by the thoughtful element among the workers, and that these should endeavor further to disseminate them through the trade-organizations.

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The future will probably show a greater leaning toward socialism, on the part of Great Britain ; although it is improbable that there will be at any time a very large number of avowed and uncompromising members of socialist organizations. All that is required in England to secure a large working-class vote in favor of practical legislation of a distinctly socialist character is good tact on the part of the socialists themselves.

An indication of the growth of opinion in England is represented by the contest at Oldham, with Mr. James Mawdsley as a candidate for one of the two vacant seats of Parliament. Mr. Mawdsley is the able secretary of the Lancashire cotton-spinners, and has steadfastly sided with the Conservative party on matters of an imperial character. We both served on the Royal Commission on Labor—1891–94—and signed a minority report of a collectivist character, declaring in favor of reduced hours, provision for the aged, the infirm, and the unemployed, and adequate housing. Mr. Mawdsley stipulated that, if reëlected to Parliament, he be allowed to act freely on all labor questions ; and the Tory party guaranteed him this. I am among those who believe in an independent attitude, distinct from either Liberal or Conservative parties ; yet the support of the Tory-collectivist-trade-union secretary by the Tory party at a parliamentary contest is not without significance.

In France the growth of socialism has been more rapid than in England ; and after two failures to form a Ministry, a third has succeeded now that it includes two collectivists, M. Millerand and M. Baudin, one of whom is Minister of Commerce, and the other, Minister of Public Works. M. Millerand is admitted by all parties to be one of the ablest men in the French Chamber ; and the appointment of this avowed collectivist to a membership in the French Ministry is significant of the very considerable influence exercised by the socialists of France. There are about one million trade-unionists in France, three-fourths of whom may be classed as socialists, although not specifically identified with any particular socialist organization. There are fifty collectivists in the Chamber of Deputies, including some of the ablest men of France. In Germany there are about 700,000 trade-unionists, 95 per cent of whom are socialists ; and the Social Democrats furnish the large contingent of forty-eight members to the Reichstag. In Belgium, Holland, and Italy similar conditions may be said to prevail.

These facts speak for themselves. To ignore them would be to reveal an incapacity for gauging public opinion. The questions now

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arise, What do these trade-unionists and collectivists immediately desire, and what is their present political programme? The answer, I think, may be briefly stated thus:

1. An eight-hour workday for all trades and industries.
2. Provision of work for all who would otherwise be unemployed.
3. An adequate scheme of old-age pensions for all.

Any candidate of capacity and integrity who would introduce and support these measures would be likely to receive a very large support. And, after all, in view of the present astonishing power of production, is it creditable to either England or America that such moderate reforms should be refused? Would it not be preferable to reduce the hours of labor by legislation, rather than to have them fought for by each trade in turn? The American employers could establish the shorter day of eight hours without losing their power to compete. Surely, among the members of Congress, men could be found who would strongly encourage such a measure. These could arrive at an understanding with such members of Parliament as are favorable to the movement, and agree to act conjointly with them in harmonizing differences arising from competition.

A more difficult question, and one far more important, is the necessity of making adequate provision for the unemployed. This, indeed, is the hardest thing to solve in the whole problem. Where employment is irregular, wages are uncertain; and this, to the workman, implies hunger and all the other evils attendant on poverty. In certain countries an excuse may be found in the scantiness of production. But this certainly does not apply to Great Britain and the United States. Yet, both of these nations seem to be utterly callous concerning the condition of their unemployed.

By means of our machinery the world's markets may be easily glutted. The normal demand is soon supplied, and the warehouses are rapidly filled. As a consequence, fewer orders are received—a circumstance entailing the dismissal of a percentage of the operatives. This to many means a degree of suffering transcending, in many respects, that usually associated with the battlefield. It is upon this question of dealing with the unemployed that the future largely depends. The intelligent element of our population is not likely to tolerate suffering; and ideas on social economic matters are rapidly spreading in every country. The sturdy and effective resistance shown by the Belgian socialists, in and out of Parliament, to the Government's proposal to limit the franchise, correctly indicated the spirit

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actuating the workers not only in Belgium, but in all other civilized countries. In order that governments may successfully deal with the question in the future, it will be necessary for them to choose statesmen who, in addition to skill and intelligence, possess considerable tact.

As a result of the commercial uplifting of China, the extension of European influence in South Africa and Egypt, and the newly awakened colonial activity of America, we are at present experiencing an unusually long period of good trade. Nevertheless, there are unmistakable indications that a serious decline will set in at the beginning of the coming century. The British Government will not then be adding any considerable number to its army and navy; the United States will have brought up the number of her fighting men to a standard beyond which it would be unsafe to go without playing into the hands of opponents more dangerous than foreigners; British shipbuilding for the world will have overreached itself; and the abnormal spell of industrial activity will wane and give place to a general depression, fraught with bankruptcy to many employers and with starvation to hundreds of thousands of workers. The present, therefore, is the time to formulate a policy of action.

I cannot lay claim to a very intimate knowledge of the United States, and certainly would not presume to instruct the laboring population of that great and growing country. But if I may be permitted to express an opinion, based upon careful observation, I should say that, unless decisive steps be taken to cope with the difficulties arising from industrial depression, by legislation of a wise, remedial character, we shall find that the country most ready and willing to indulge in revolution will be the United States. And should such a catastrophe befall the Union history shows that it would soon extend to other countries.

The polyglot population of the United States is no doubt destined in time to produce a superior race. Nevertheless, the existence of so many different elements under one government—elements not yet blended into a homogeneous people, but differing in habits and language—will certainly be a source of serious difficulty should internal dissensions arise. Here, in England, the mass is at present under a spell of apathetic contentment. Not long ago several of the largest unions were engaged in trade disputes. As a result, their funds were exhausted; many of their homes were impoverished; and they gained but little in the way of improved conditions. Some of these men—and this is true of every great movement—discouraged by their recent fail-

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ure, may long be seriously reluctant to enter upon another struggle. Not so the others who have already replenished their funds, and are quietly preparing for the next opportunity. Hitherto the men have largely confined their efforts to sectional trade-unionism as a means of bringing about the desired changes. They now recognize, however, that in order to accomplish their object they must possess a compact political organization. So soon as the next active movement is inaugurated we shall see sectional trade-unionism supplemented by an effective federation of unions and vigorous political action.

So far, the collectivists and those who prefer to be known as "labor men" have never, to any considerable extent, worked in common. The collectivists have regarded it as their duty to advocate the "whole hog" programme: they have made no concessions of a modifying, or, to use a favorite term, "compromising," character. By this policy they have succeeded in making their views perfectly clear. They have shown that they have nothing in common with the Conservative aristocracy or the Liberal plutocracy. But they have also succeeded in making it very easy for relatively mediocre persons to fill positions of importance—and this greatly to the detriment of the cause. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the socialists are now disposed to be more tolerant than formerly; and their opponents, in consequence, seem disposed to meet them half-way. While no immediate result of this *rapprochement* is anticipated, the next depression in trade will probably suffice to clear away the barriers that have hitherto prevented the formation of an influential labor party in Great Britain.

The one point on which there is anything approaching unanimity is the necessity for a scheme of old-age pensions; and this subject is at present more generally discussed than any other of an ameliorative character. The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain has long been favorably disposed to dealing legislatively with it; and a law bearing upon it may possibly be enacted under the present government. Should this not be the case, however, we may expect to find that every candidate at the next general election will make the matter an important item of his political programme.

The programme of a socialist candidate may be expected to contain the following items:

1. An eight-hour day.
2. Labor for children under fifteen to be prohibited.
3. Work for the unemployed.
4. Old-age pensions.

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5. Nationalization of mines.
6. Nationalization of railways.
7. Nationalization of land.

And, in addition to these measures, we may expect to find a statement declaring in favor of a coöperative commonwealth, involving the socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. It is impossible to foretell how soon these measures will be indorsed by the several nations. Undoubtedly, the first four planks of the socialist platform might be adopted to-day with enormous advantage to all sections of the community. Several of our English mine-owners have already advocated the nationalization of mines; and there is also a growing sentiment in favor of the nationalization of railways. Indeed, the advantages which all classes of the public would derive from state management and ownership are so obvious, that we may confidently expect, within a few years, to see this plank of the socialist platform everywhere incorporated as a law.

These, then, are the objects which the socialists and labor men have in view. They contain nothing that may be construed as subversive of the public welfare. On the contrary, a policy such as that outlined above is necessary in order that the interests of the public may be subserved. The conditions have greatly changed within the last fifteen years. "The condition of England question," as Carlyle called it, has come to be regarded as a very *real* question, demanding our earnest consideration. In the United States, also, social problems are now receiving wide attention. This is evident from the present extensive circulation of books which, twenty years ago, would have been stamped as revolutionary. The extraordinary development of trusts and combines is forcing the pace; and the instinct of self-preservation will compel the community to resort to remedial measures. Coöperation, therefore, seems to be the next stage of human development.

What a contrast this would furnish to the horrible pessimism of the orthodox view, that life must be an unceasing struggle for bread! The ordinary mechanic, influenced only by the flimsy arguments of capitalistic politics and venal journalism, rejoices when he finds work more plentiful as the result of an exterminating war. Shipwrecks occur; the lost vessels must be replaced; new orders are sent to the shipyards; consequently the laborers again find employment. Explosions take place, demolishing mills; and the builders who were idle get work. Indeed, catastrophes are sometimes blessings in this topsy-turvy system; for the reason that we do not stand or fall together,

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but profit by each other's discomfiture. When coöperation, or collectivism, which is practically identical, prevails, it will be to the interest of the individual to preserve and not to destroy; and a calamity will be a national concern—something to be carefully guarded against by all.

In the meantime, men, women, and children pine and suffer; and many of them die prematurely because it is not considered within the province of the community to assist them. The kindly side of human nature is being rapidly developed, however; and we shall eventually learn to regard poverty as a blot upon our civilization—as a social disease which must be swiftly eradicated in order that the higher development of the race may be secured.

I believe that the progress of organization everywhere will now be very rapid. Conferences will take place, and working alliances will speedily follow. The International Socialist Congress and the Economic Congress to be held next year in Paris will probably mark a greater advance in this direction than anything hitherto done. The preparatory work has been performed: international fellowship has not only been indorsed in theory, but to some extent in practice also.

Naturally, great things are expected from the English-speaking race; and, speaking as a trade-unionist, socialist, and agitator, I would yield to none in an earnest desire to see our race set the world an example in solving the great social problem, not, however, by insisting upon any fantastical policy or false principle, but by squarely facing the situation and testing every proposal by the soundest method known. Poverty and want are doomed; they ought to be banished. The hopes of the people are too strong, their power too great, to warrant a continuation of these evils indefinitely. TOM MANN.

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CHINESE RAILROAD AND MINING CONCESSIONS.

THE craze for the incorporation of private business concerns as public companies, a craze which has reached astonishing proportions in England and America, is explained by the existence of immense sums of hoarded capital. Money has been made fast in these latter days of the nineteenth century; and, in seeking new forms of investment, it seeks some form rendered attractive by previous success or by the vague promise of rich returns in some untried field. Investors have a faith that they will be able to make money as members of a public company in an enterprise in which they would hesitate to embark as individuals. They wish also to take some part in attractive-looking ventures which, unless as members of a public company, are beyond their reach.

It must be similar reasons which explain the mad scramble for Chinese concessions. The Empire of China has, for the investor, all the charm of the distant and the unknown, as well as the charm of a field which the commercial successes of the past have clothed with a romantic interest. There great fortunes have often been achieved; there great enterprises are on foot, and the beholder is dazzled by the magnificent liberality with which the Chinese Government is granting concessions for railroads and mines and commercial companies. As there is, as a rule, a supply for every demand, the promoter stands ready to enable the beholder to give substantial expression, if he likes, to his vague ambition. A monopoly to mine an area as large as Italy or to build a thousand miles of railroad must be valuable; or, if not valuable, reasons the promoter, thousands, perhaps millions, of dollars may be spent before its worthlessness can be proved; and in the meantime it requires no great shrewdness to "make something out of it." There are such things as founders' shares and promoters' profits; and, as trooper Peter Halket justly moralized, "It's the shares that you sell, not the shares you keep, that make the money."

And so to Peking, once the secluded home of the Emperor and his court, where even the representatives of foreign powers were barely tolerated, and from which the contaminating influence of foreign trade

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was rigorously excluded, now flock the promoters—American, English, German, Russian, French, Italian, and Japanese. Nor do they go there in vain; for China, in reckless generosity, or hopeless apathy, or deluded by the suggestion that thus she is developing her latent resources, or perhaps influenced by more sordid motives, grants almost daily some new charter for a railroad, or a mine, or other company; conceding to some group of capitalists the exclusive right "to exploit," as the phrase goes, some part of her territory.

The usual procedure in securing Chinese concessions is somewhat as follows: There first comes to Peking the advance agent, the typical concession-hunter, to look over the ground and find out what China has to give away that can be taken up by a public company and secure the support of the share-buying public abroad. Sometimes he is sent as the representative of a group of capitalists who have a definite idea of what they wish to secure; and in such cases he is furnished with formidable letters of credit, to supply the very necessary sinews of this financial war. Sometimes he comes unsupported; and, having "hooked" some conditional grant, posts hot-footed to London or New York to see what can be done with it. Occasionally promoters are of a different class entirely; namely, the agents of foreign governments, trying, under the cloak of private enterprise, to advance a political design in some part of the empire in which these governments seek a predominating influence.

Experience has proved that these advance agents need not be gentlemen of the highest education or refinement; but they do need to be endowed with a certain instinct for diplomacy in its lower forms; and they must be, above all, shrewd and persistent, of indomitable perseverance, and with a faculty for making friends. Scruples as to methods are with them superfluous; but a willingness and an ability in the application of "palm oil" are indispensable. They must, also, be men of their word toward those who work with them. What they promise to those who aid in the negotiation of their contracts they must faithfully fulfil; because, while Chinese business integrity does not rise to the Quixotic height of refusing to enter into corrupt contracts, it expects scrupulous exactitude in their execution. The promise of the promoter to his Chinese aiders and abettors, in official circles, becomes a debt of honor, payment of which is, or should be, absolutely sure. On such terms as these have offices in China been secured, promotions obtained, enterprises authorized, for hundreds of years; and the foreign promoter must, as his initial step, give his adherence thereto. The method

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of procedure of the advance agent is to make the acquaintance of the mandarins of Peking; securing here and there an ally and a friend. Then, at some favorable moment, he lays his project before the proper department of the government; relying on the support of his friends to secure it favorable consideration. One of the greatest concessions recently signed in China enriched in its negotiation numberless officials. The writer himself saw a promissory note for thirty-five thousand dollars payable to a small official upon the formation of a certain company. This was but one palm "greased;" and the aggregate outlay on this head, by the concessionaire, must have amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars. For the consolation of future promoters it must be added that methods are now much simplified; such liberal "squeezes" being no longer necessary.

After the advance agent has secured his concession in general terms and has the Chinese Government securely bound, his usefulness ceases, and he had better disappear from the scene. The battered regiments which have borne the brunt of the battle, when victory has settled on their banners, very properly leave the detailed terms of the capitulation to the polished agents of diplomacy. The original concession-hunter has usually become entangled in too many meshes; he has made too many promises; his assurances of the liberal character and the disinterested, philanthropic purposes of the capitalists at his back—assurances too vague to be legally binding, it is true—must be modified and explained away; and withdrawal as graceful as possible must be made from the untenable positions which his zeal for success has led him to occupy. It is naturally unfair and inexpedient that the agent, some of whose undertakings must be disavowed, should be compelled to be the mouthpiece of the disavowal. So, after the first promoter comes a man of a different class—a corporation lawyer, a banker of irreproachable character, or an engineer whose standing commands respect. His hands are uncontaminated by the preliminary negotiations; he is uninfluenced by the friendships and alliances of his predecessor; and he is bound by his own construction of a contract only. In this respect there is a certain similarity between the methods of commercial syndicates and those of foreign governments. It is not unusual for a diplomatic agent, whose zeal for his country has led him to incur the hostility of China, to be relieved by a milder-mannered man, who will take advantage of all that has been done, while trying to gloss it over with his new friendship.

When this new agent has revised the previous contract, has

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adjusted the terms thereof to suit his ideas of what will command financial support abroad, and has secured the Chinese Government's acceptance thereof, the concession is ready for the third and most critical stage of its career; namely, its floating on some money market. It is worthy of note that none of the concessions so far granted has yet reached the last stage of all—the actual putting into operation.

The art of drawing these preliminary contracts affords scope for considerable skill; and it is interesting to note the tactics adopted on various occasions. The phraseology must be carefully calculated to secure the granting of all rights and privileges desired, but by it such grants must be veiled as not to jar on Chinese sensibility. The Chinese always wish to grant a concession in such a way as to appear to have retained control thereof for their own government; and it is desirable to have it seem that the foreigner has made a bad bargain. A reckless profusion of conditional promises, and a liberal provision for China's participation in remotely contingent profits, are favorite forms of bait. In a recent concession of mining rights in Western China, after providing for rents, taxes, interest on loans, dividends on capital, and 10 per cent annual payment to sinking fund, 25 per cent of the balance of the profits is to be presented with prodigal liberality to China. Twenty-five per cent seems big on paper; and the Chinese, unfamiliar with the resources of foreign bookkeeping, feel a lively gratitude. In the contract between the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Chinese Government, for the construction of the Manchurian Railroad, is this provision:

"§ 29. In accordance with the agreement concluded with the Chinese Government, the latter, after the expiration of eighty years of possession of the railway by the Company, enters into possession of it and its appurtenances."

This is a splendid offer, well calculated to excite Chinese cupidity. A well-equipped railway, nine hundred miles long, running through a prosperous and fertile territory, is a valuable asset, even if possession of it is only to be had in eighty years. Perhaps the Russian framers of this paragraph imagined that a gift to the Chinese Government deferred for eighty years was in the nature of a gift to Russia herself. If they did not imagine it, it is a happy afterthought.

Comprehensive phrases and ambiguous wording are also useful artifices. A grant of some advantage to China in one paragraph may be made to conflict with provisions in another; and, if the point comes up for future discussion, the confusion affords the foreigner a loophole of escape. In a recent railroad contract there is a clause as to debentures

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which could be so read as to be of the utmost liberality to the foreign company or to the Chinese Government, according to the construction put upon it. As a matter of fact, competent legal advisers, consulted in the matter, have declared that it means nothing at all. This is a triumph of ambiguity, which even promoters' genius rarely attains.

It may be accepted, as a general principle in Chinese concessions, that there is no intention on either side to abide literally by what is at first written in the contract. The writer has known Chinese negotiators of the highest official rank advise foreigners, with whom they were bargaining for concessions, to accede to utterly unacceptable conditions, with the assurance that, when the concession was once granted, it could be modified at pleasure. In one noted instance, that of the Belgian contract for the construction of the road from Peking to Hankow, some seven hundred miles long, the contract has been so modified by successive Belgian demands that it bears small resemblance to its original form. The Chinese negotiated with Belgians for this railroad, because Belgium was supposed to be a small country without designs on China, and hence safer to deal with than aggressive colonial powers, such as France, for example, with whom China is in constant trouble on her southern border. As a matter of fact, however, the ink was not dry on the paper before an official publication by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Paris, congratulated the French people on the success of French diplomacy in this connection, and stated: "Le résultat obtenu est dû à la persévérance des industriels Français et Belges secondés activement par les deux Gouvernements et les Représentants en Chine de la France et de la Belgique."

The remarkable part of this episode is, that China does not seem to mind, in the least, the deception practised ; and it is only England who protests on finding the Yangtze Valley, which she had claimed as her peculiar "sphere of influence," cut in two by driving, what it is in reality, a Franco-Russian railway across it.

It is a feature of Chinese concessions, that they are granted to companies of one single or two closely allied nations, and not to companies of capitalists of mixed nationalities. The element of international politics enters largely into them ; and the promoter can, as a rule, count upon the support of his own diplomatic representative. In fact, the attitude of the powers represented at Peking is, that China is under obligations to them all, and that a favor to one must be offset by compensation of some sort to the others. We find in the printed official correspondence of the British Government, for 1898, a note from the

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British Minister, at Peking, setting forth "a list of concessions granted us up to date; also a list comparing what we have got with what other nations have." On this list the British Minister complacently comments, "We do not seem to have come out second best." There is something in this which recalls the small boy's remark on his first introduction to the collection box at church, "I got a shilling, mamma! What did you get?"

The incident throws an interesting sidelight on modern diplomacy and on the functions of the representatives of the great powers. It is sad to have to add that the British public failed to share their minister's complacency.

In Corea, a country to whose political level China is rapidly descending, this game of compensation has been so far perfected that, when the King granted an American company the right to open certain mines, he found himself obliged to grant to a Japanese company the right to build a railroad southward from Seoul, to the Russians a mine on the Siberian frontier, to the French a railroad north, to the Germans other mines, and, finally, to the English a vague sort of a concession to get whatever was left. The argument which each nation made in support of its demand was not an allegation of peculiar fitness, nor a plea of service rendered, but the plaintive cry that it should not be passed over. The only reason why no more concessions are granted in Corea is, that there are no further nations which demand them.

Up to the end of the year 1898, China had granted nineteen different railroad concessions to companies of six different nationalities; viz., American, English, French, Russian, German, and Belgian. The following table shows how the various nations fared:

SUMMARY OF RAILWAY CONCESSIONS.

Nationality.	Number.	Length of Line Represented.	Remarks.
English[1]	9	Miles, 2,800	Including Hankow-Canton and Yun-nan-Yangtze Railways.
Russian	3	" 1,530	Including Manchurian Railway.
German[1]	2	" 720	
Belgian	1	" 650	
French	3	" 420	
American[1]	1	" 300	

[1] Half interests are reckoned at half the estimated length of line.

The above table, copied from the British China Blue-Book for

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1898, gives, however, but the vaguest idea of the character and value of the concessions.

The first concession, in point of time, was that to the Russo-Chinese Bank to build a road across Manchuria. This is in the form of a contract between the bank and the Chinese Government. It was agreed on in August, 1896, and confirmed by the Emperor of Russia on December 4, of that year. At first, it provided only for a line from east to west across Manchuria; giving a route for the Trans-Siberian Railway from Siberia to Vladivostok. Later contracts, however, authorize its continuance southward to Port Arthur; and, at the moment these words are written, the Chinese Government has under trembling consideration a demand from Russia to extend it to Peking. This demand is resisted by England, because Russia's Peking line will parallel and compete with a Chinese line, now under construction, between Peking and New Chwang, on which British capitalists have made a loan of two and one-half millions sterling. This incident is a curious commentary on Russian methods; because, shortly before the above demand was made, Russia and England had entered into a solemn agreement to respect each other's spheres of influence in China—an agreement which the English press hailed with satisfaction, as removing all causes of misunderstanding between the two powers. It is a noticeable coincidence, also, that, at the very moment the Czar's peace congress was in session at The Hague, a demand was made in this remote corner of Asia so inimical to British interests that it might have been accepted as a provocation for war.

Under its contract with China, the Russo-Chinese Bank holds the road for eighty years "from date of opening to traffic along the whole line." The line is to be five-foot gauge, and to be built according to Russian railway practice. Goods brought into China by rail are to pay one-third less duties than ocean-borne goods. The road is to be finished in six years. One of the most important clauses of the contract is paragraph 8, which provides that the company may appoint police agents to maintain order on land assigned to them. By virtue of this authority, Russia is practically garrisoning Manchuria. The provision that the line shall belong to China after eighty years has already been commented on; but China may buy the road, if she wishes, after thirty-six years from the time it is opened to traffic, "on refunding to the company in full all the outlays made on it, and a payment for everything done for the requirements of the railway, such payment to be made with accrued interest." This purchase price is somewhat

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indeterminate ; and even if it were capable of being reduced to exact statement, it is beyond belief that China will ever be able to collect the funds for its acquisition.

The Trans-Manchurian Railway is a valuable line to Russia; though probably, if commercial interests had alone been considered, it would not have been built for many years. Strategically, it is of almost incalculable value. It affords a line of communication between Europe and China exclusively in Russia's control. It enables her to move naval and military stores expeditiously to her fortresses and fleets on the Pacific. It counterbalances Japanese military influence in the Orient, by enabling Russia to transport an army of Cossacks to the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and to keep in touch with them there. Already the mere undertaking of the road has made Russian influence predominant at Peking, and its completion will almost inevitably lead to the incorporation, not only of Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula, but of North China itself, in the dominions of the Czar. Manchuria is a fine healthy country, fertile of soil, and rich in forests and minerals ; and there is no reason why the sturdy immigrants from the north should not live and flourish there. Supported by the peasantry who will settle along its line, and by the trade in grain, in ores, and in lumber, which they will develop, the Trans-Manchurian road must soon prove a profitable commercial undertaking. At present, its political importance overshadows its commercial aspects ; while to one who regards it apart from politics and commerce, its chief interest consists in its being a part of the system which connects the city of Peking and the ancient Kingdom of Cathay with the cities of Europe. The long sleep of China will have been indeed broken when the tourist may reach Peking in a through palace car from Moscow, Paris, and Berlin.

The second concession, in point of time, is the Belgian railroad from Peking to Hankow. The history of this is a record of vicissitudes. A contract for this line was, in 1896, offered to an American syndicate, which, having gone to the length of sending a survey party over it, dropped it in the face of Belgian competition. The Belgians, backed by France and Russia, eagerly seized it. Terms with them were no object. They wished to get the contract into their hands and cut off competition ; feeling sure to be able eventually to modify the contract to suit themselves. Their plans have met with conspicuous success ; and they have hammered at China for two years and more, until a contract which no financier would touch has been moulded by political pressure into a valuable franchise. This road was originally to have

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run from Peking to Hankow, along the Yangtze River ; but during the two years that Belgium has been negotiating, China has pushed her system to Pao-ting ; and Belgium will construct only from there southward. To build this line, China makes a gold loan of one hundred and twelve million five hundred thousand francs, at 5 per cent, issued at 96½ per cent, and repayable at par, in twenty annual instalments, by drawings to begin in 1909. This loan is now about to be offered to the public through the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas and other French institutions. The prospects of this loan seem reasonably favorable ; and the cities of Hankow, Tientsin, and Peking are filling up with French engineers, merchants, and contractors, ready to reap a golden harvest from—to quote the words of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs—"the important part reserved to French industry," in the orders which this enterprise will furnish. And we may agree with the Minister in his opinion, that "French influence in China will not fail to be benefited by this success obtained by our diplomacy at the moment when the question of railroads plays so important a rôle in the international relations of the Chinese Empire." Thus vanishes China's fond delusion that she has made a bargain with a weak and friendly state, and has kept out of the meshes of the aggressive colonial powers !

Commercially, the Belgian line is of considerable value. It connects Peking and North China—access to which by sea is difficult, particularly in winter—with the rich Yangtze Basin. It traverses a populous and fairly prosperous country. The most unfavorable criticism that can be made of the country traversed is, that the population is so dense that the productive capacity of the people barely suffices to supply their own needs. They consume all they produce ; leaving nothing to be shipped to other provinces in exchange for other goods, the carriage of which would enrich the road. This line, however, will join the railroads of China with Siberia and Europe, and will form part of what may be a grand network of railways, whose southern branches will some day penetrate into French Indo-China and Burmah and Siam. It is the ambition of France to control this system hand in hand with Russia. This led her to stand by Belgium in defeating the American syndicate ; and this leads her to-day to fight, by all secret methods, the proposed American railroad between Hankow and Canton. The latter is the next concession to which attention is to be directed.

When the American syndicate was driven out of the field of North

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China by Belgian competition, its attention was called to another link in China's great trunk line—that from the Yangtze at Hankow southward to Canton and the sea. A contract for this line was signed by a New York City company and the Chinese Minister at Washington, in April, 1898, and approved by decree of the Emperor of China. This contract is a simple business matter, having no political background. It is intended on the part of China to establish means of communication through three rich and prosperous provinces, while it is the purpose of the Americans interested to obtain a profitable investment and to enter an attractive field of industry. It is probable, however, that this undertaking is favorably regarded at Washington ; and it is certain that France and Belgium will be less inclined to interfere with it since our little episode with Spain.

Under this contract the American syndicate agrees to provide £4,000,000, for the purpose of building the road, and China is to issue 5 per cent bonds at 90 per cent sufficient to cover the loan. The road is to be finished in three years. It is to be American in character, and operated by the syndicate. The proposed route, which was carefully surveyed last winter, is about seven hundred miles long; traversing a country of singular beauty and of great resources in coal and iron and in agricultural products. The writer of this paper accompanied this survey party as interpreter; and he will never forget the enthusiasm with which the people and the officials along the line welcomed American coöperation in Chinese railway construction.

The remaining railroad concessions of China can only be briefly touched upon. The greatest of all are the concessions of the Peking syndicate—a combination of English and Italian capitalists, who contemplate enormous mining enterprises in Shan-si and Ho-nan, and a railroad system about two thousand miles in extent. The usual terms of prospectuses fail to describe the resources of the country to be exploited by this company. Their coal-fields, anthracite and bituminous, cover areas "as large as France." Rich deposits of iron ore lie side by side with the coal ; while gold is washed in the rivers running over them. The population, whose industry is to be made tributary to the company's prosperity, is counted by hundreds of millions. It is no wonder that the founders' shares of this syndicate are quoted at a premium, and that among the subscribers thereto are found the names of distinguished officials, English, American, Chinese, and Italian, as well as the usual list of merchants and bankers. Li Hung-Chang him-

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self, reputed not a bad judge of an investment, bought several thousand pounds' worth of these shares, some days ago, by cable.

England has secured a number of other concessions, besides the large one above referred to. English firms have contracted to build a line from Shang-hai to Nanking and to Hang-chau, Soochow, and to Ning-po. They have secured possession of the twenty-mile line already in operation from Shang-hai to Wu-sung, at the mouth of the Yangtze River; and they are to build a line from Canton, connecting with the American line above described, to Kowloon, opposite the British colony of Hongkong. English and German capitalists combined have undertaken the construction of a railway from Chin-kiang, on the Yangtze River, to Tientsin, in North China. This contract was signed on May 20, 1899, and is the very latest of the great concessions that China has granted. The agreement between the English and German bankers for the building of this line provides that the materials therefor are to be bought on open tender; and it will be interesting to observe how far "spheres of influence" are compatible with a commercial "open door."

In addition to these railroad concessions China has granted many others. To an English syndicate she has given the right to open mines in the province of Szechuen, regarded as the richest in minerals of all the provinces of China. Here, in addition to the uncertain resources of silver and gold, are some of the most ancient and interesting mining operations of the world. In Szechuen are coal- and iron-mines which have been worked for thousands of years; and here also are wells of petroleum and natural gas springing from the ground. This province, at an elevation of some thousands of feet above the sea and in the heart of a continent, produces large quantities of salt. The latter is obtained from salt water pumped from great depths below the ground and evaporated in huge iron pans by the use of natural gas.

Other mines have been granted to the Italians in Che-kiang province, to the Germans in Shantung, and to the Russians in Mongolia and Manchuria. For such concessions Americans have as yet made no demand. These mining grants have been made to all classes of people —to banks and commercial houses, to syndicates, and to individuals. Some have been given to foreign governments, some to foreign incorporated companies, some to companies half foreign and half Chinese, and some to individuals who happen to be on terms of friendship with the powers that be. The present policy of China seems to favor the granting of concessions to companies in which Chinese merchants or

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officials have a share equal to that of the foreign shareholders ; but, it is sad to relate, nothing is more easy than to get an appearance of Chinese coöperation in an enterprise exclusively foreign.

There are concessions of another class, entirely political, which have not been touched upon. These are grants by China of jurisdiction over certain parts of her territory to certain foreign powers. Thus, in 1897, she leased Kiao-chau Bay and adjacent territory to Germany; in 1898, she gave up Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan to Russia, and Wei-hai-wei to England; and to England she granted also a large district on the mainland opposite Hongkong. In a smaller way she has granted concessions of ground at her commercial ports to various powers. For instance, England, France, Germany, and Japan own their respective settlements at Tientsin and at Hankow. England, France, and the United States have concessions at Shang-hai. Japan has concessions at all the newly opened ports on the Yangtze River and elsewhere. These concessions have little to do with trade. It would seem, in some cases, that they had been demanded simply to gratify national pride or to further some national ambition. France has concessions in territories where she has no trade and where no Frenchmen reside.

The effect of commercial concessions on trade is a natural subject of inquiry. Will trade be stimulated by these vast projected undertakings? Will China prove to be the gainer by securing the development of her mines and railroads with foreign capital, or will she find that the granting of franchises and the parting with sovereignty over a great part of her area were too high a price to pay in order to anticipate, by a few years, a development which she could some day have accomplished herself? These are difficult questions. Trade will certainly be increased, and more rapidly increased, than if the development of the country had been allowed to await its regular course ; because to the commercial rivalry of different companies is added the intense political rivalry of different nations. Political interests bring forth money for undertakings of great magnitude with which private capital would not care to cope, and in which there would otherwise be great circumspection and delay. At the same time, it is certain that China has paid an enormous price for this advantage : she has paid no less than her autonomy and her independence. If she had acted of her unconstrained initiative, it would be easy to characterize her policy as folly. As a matter of fact, however, she is merely yielding to an inevitable destiny; and, by giving up her ports and provinces piecemeal, she is deferring for a few years her ultimate dismemberment.

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If Russia is determined to have Manchuria, it is as well for China to let it go gradually, under the form of a railroad concession, as to part with it at once at the demand of a conqueror. If China "is going into the melting pot to be recast," as an English journal at Shang-hai bluntly puts it, it makes little difference to herself what she gives up and what she retains; and the mandarins at Peking, who pretend to guide her fortunes, are perhaps wise in their generation if they sell out their country's assets, item by item, to the highest bidder. There is, however, a stirring time coming, when English, Russian, French, American, Japanese, German, and Italian companies will find themselves quarrelling over their respective "spheres of influence."

It would have been better for China if her territories could have been developed by herself and thrown open to all foreigners alike, under one government at Peking, and under one uniform tariff. England and America might have brought this about by their coöperation some years ago. England, however, was too well satisfied with her position of commercial preëminence to care to dictate the policy of China; and the United States was too indifferent to a field from which it then seemed remotely separated. Now the favorable moment has passed; and just as much of China will be left open to English and American commerce as England and America may themselves control.

The effects of this concession-hunting have been harmful to the governments engaged in it. There have been jealousy and ill-will over rights granted to others, greed and rapacity in demanding rights for themselves. Foreign ministers have resorted to stratagems which have distinctly sunk the standing of foreign governments in the eyes of the Chinese. Solemn declarations of friendship in treaties with China have been regarded as meaningless protestations; while pledges to furnish assistance in time of trouble have been cynically disavowed. Christianity has suffered also. The Chinese churches have had the edifying spectacle of their missionary leaders promoting loans, scheming for mining grants, selling their influence to syndicates. Thoughtful Chinese cannot fail to contrast the doctrines of Christianity with the practice of Christian nations; and they will be led to the conclusion that the Confucian maxim, the negative form of which the missionaries are so fond of decrying, "Do not unto others what you do not wish them to do unto you," has commanded more respect from the followers of Confucius than the Golden Rule has from the nations which proclaim their allegiance to Christ.

The ultimate value of the enterprises undertaken under the general

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name of concessions is an interesting problem. Some of them will be put into operation at once and will prove great financial successes from the first; some are of such magnitude that many years must elapse before they can become paying investments; and it is possible that one set of investors will sink money in schemes from which, perhaps years later, others will make fortunes. It is inevitable, also, that frauds should be practised, and that the glamour which China lends should be availed of to float companies which have nothing of value to exploit. The home investor is so far away, that he will be unable to discriminate between the sound and the unsound security. The great trade of China, however, will go on increasing and developing; her railroads will do an enormous business; her mines will prove to be of almost limitless area and wealth. On the whole, the writer believes that judicious investment in some of the Chinese enterprises which will shortly be floated in Europe and America promises splendid returns.

CHARLES DENBY, JR.

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WILL CHINESE DEVELOPMENT BENEFIT THE WESTERN WORLD?

It is a wholesome sign to find an occasional investigator of trade conditions in China asking, whether the too common assumption that the opening of the Empire must redound to the advantage of the Western world may not be erroneous. As a rule, writers on the subject have approached it much in the spirit of "Colonel Sellers," who was sure that he would find millions of customers for his famous eye-water, if he could obtain an opportunity to introduce it to the notice of the sore-eyed Oriental peoples. Therefore it is refreshing to see a trade paper like "Bradstreet's" sounding a warning note. That journal recently remarked:

> "When the vast natural riches of the Empire are systematically developed by foreign capital the other side of China's trade extension may become perceptible. It is, for instance, claimed that the iron and coal deposits of China are the greatest in the known world; the supply of labor is undoubtedly a vast one; and it needs but little prophetic acumen to point out that some day China will figure as a great competitor in many lines of industries in the markets of the world."

The facts from which the deduction is drawn that China must some day become a formidable competitor in many lines of industry have long been known to scores of writers, who have enthusiastically expatiated upon them, as though they held out great promises to Western peoples. In some inexplicable fashion these remarkable critics have convinced themselves that when the 400,000 square miles of underlying coal deposits, which China is credited with possessing, are worked by improved methods, Great Britain and other Western countries will be vastly benefited. They are also apparently well satisfied that the abundant stores of excellent iron ores, which are found in close proximity to inexhaustible supplies of fuel, will be mined for the particular benefit of countries like England, which are rapidly diminishing their available supplies of raw materials. Their ideas are not clearly worked out; but they seem to have a hazy impression that, when railways are constructed and communication with all points of the vast Empire is made easy, a continuous stream of raw

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materials desired by the Western world will flow out of China, for which Western manufacturers will give in exchange the finished products of their workshops.

The radical defect in this line of reasoning is the failure to take into consideration the fact that all rational trade is based on the idea of exchanging surpluses. If this were kept in mind, a large class of writers would avoid the blunder of assuming that the coal and iron of China are likely to be shipped abroad to be converted into manufactured articles. China possesses undeveloped resources in the shape of minerals, and may undoubtedly, under more favorable conditions, increase the production of food and of certain raw materials of the field. But these cannot be compared to her inexhaustible supplies of labor, which constitute the great, the overwhelming, surplus of the Empire. It is the product of the energy of this surplus, and not raw materials, that China will seek an outlet for when she acquires our habits.

If we wish to understand what the future has in store for China and the rest of the world, we must familiarize ourselves with the extent of this surplus energy, and inquire into the possibilities of employing it as effectively as labor is employed in Europe or the United States. We must not rashly assume that, because the Chinese have remained in a state of arrested development for several centuries, there can be no awakening. The darkness that enveloped the Western world during the Middle Ages was in part dispelled by the introduction of arts and novelties from the Orient. It is not impossible that the East may recoup itself for the benefits conferred on Westerners in times gone by and take usurious interest from them. The story of the hare and the tortoise may be recast, at some future day, to illustrate the fact that in economics the goal is the main thing. The swift hare may reach it first; but when the slow-travelling tortoise arrives, and there is no further racing to be done, his plodding ways may serve him better in the struggle for existence than the nimble qualities of his erstwhile successful rival.

According to the best available data, the population of China foots up in the neighborhood of four hundred millions. The "Statesman's Year Book" puts the number at 402,680,000, and credits to China proper 386,000,000. The remaining 16,680,000 inhabit the dependencies of Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Jungaria, and East Turkestan. The total area of the Empire is 4,218,401 square miles; but 386,000,000 of the people are crowded into a space of 1,336,841 square

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miles. The eighteen provinces constituting China proper have a density of population varying from 65 to the square mile in Kwangsi, which lies immediately north of Tongking, to 574 per square mile in Fuhkien, on the seacoast. Thirteen of the eighteen provinces, containing 868,705 square miles of territory, have a population of 340,993,375, or 389 to the square mile. To appreciate the full significance of these figures we must bear in mind the fact observed by Prof. Garrett, that in the United States agriculture has not been sufficiently developed to find employment and support for a population greater than 45 to a square mile, and that, wherever the density exceeds this number, as it does already even in some of the newer commonwealths of the American Union, the people are obliged to resort to manufacturing to assist in maintaining themselves.

With this statement as a basis for comparison we can form an impression of the congested condition of China. Every one of the eighteen provinces contains more than 45 inhabitants per square mile. The least populous, Kwangsi, is credited with 65, and Kansu, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Shensi have 74, 108, 118, and 126, respectively, in the order named. But these are thinly settled compared with Fuhkien, with its 574 to the square mile, Shantung with 557, Kwangsi with 470, Anhwei with 425, Hupeh with 473, and Szechuen with 406. We need reflect but a moment to realize that if 45 inhabitants per square mile can produce moderately fair agricultural results in the United States those provinces of China with ten and twelve times as many packed in the same area could utilize enough of their number to practise intensive husbandry, and still have myriads left to apply themselves to other forms of labor.

The existence of this vast surplus of human energy is well known to every schoolboy, and the capabilities of the Chinese people are tolerably well understood by most persons who have taken the trouble to give the matter a thought; yet, singularly enough, the country is regarded precisely as though its inhabitants were as incapable as North American Indians. The fancy is entertained that Westerners will develop the vast coal-measures, the great stores of iron, copper, and other minerals, promote production generally, and make communication and exchange by means of telegraph lines and railways quick and easy, while the effect will be only to increase the consumption of articles produced in European and American workshops. The optimists who entertain these ideas have been too little impressed by the lessons of experience; otherwise they would not have

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failed to notice the modern phenomenon of the mobility of capital, and the inevitable result which must follow its transference to a country incredibly rich in mineral resources and possessing an inexhaustible supply of labor that may be easily made capable as measured by the modern standard.

We may at once and finally conclude that if the effect of furnishing China with railways and of making her valuable mines productive will be to create a desire on the part of the masses for things now wholly unknown to them, such desire can only be gratified by permitting them to utilize their surplus energy in fashioning them. It is inconsistent to the verge of absurdity to assume that the people of a province like Shantung, with 557 persons to the square mile, can increase their ability to purchase without resorting to other employments than agriculture and mining. No matter how rich the iron ores might be, or how inexhaustible the supplies of coal, only an inconsiderable proportion of the population could be profitably employed in extracting them. The remainder would still be obliged to cultivate the soil as laboriously as during past ages, for the reason that by those methods the best results are achieved.

It is only through the utilization of the surplus energy of the people in new and varied fields that an extensive railroad system could be made profitable in China. It is impossible to imagine such a result being brought about, in the densely populated basin of the Yangtse, by a mere exchange of the surplus products of the fields and mines for European or American-made goods. No railroad could hope to thrive in a country where the masses are continually forced to the limit of subsistence, as they are in most parts of China proper. That this condition would be permanently imposed on the population if the Western idea prevailed seems highly probable. The standard of living cannot be raised in any densely inhabited country, if the workers have no other resource than to till the soil and to produce the raw materials of manufacture.

If we wish to comprehend the almost insuperable obstacles in the way of increasing the consumptive ability of the masses of China without permitting them to utilize their surplus labor in the more profitable field of manufacturing for peoples who have a surplus of land, we must attentively consider the conditions at present prevailing in the fertile parts of the Empire. There is no end of information on the subject, and its character is so unvarying that there is no reason whatever to doubt its accuracy. Archibald Little and a host of

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trained observers unite in the opinion, that in no place else in the world is the soil made to produce as much as in the Yangtse Valley, where three crops are gathered in a single year from the same land. And what they say of the Yangtse applies to the greater part of China; intensive farming being the rule throughout the Empire. Concurrently with this high development of agriculture there has grown up a system of domestic manufacture, which, owing to the immense surplus of labor, although its products are entirely fashioned by hand, has thus far proved a formidable rival of Western machinery. R. S. Gundry, in the "Fortnightly Review," for October, 1889, in an article on "Progress in China," plainly declared that the cause of the failure to introduce cotton goods more extensively into the Empire was due to the fact that the Chinese "can spin and weave with their hand-looms, under present economic conditions, a strong cloth which suits them better than any we (the British) can offer at an equal price."

Singularly enough, Messrs. Little, Gundry, and others, who have described the phenomena I have briefly referred to, are not deterred from expressing the belief that the conditions will all be changed as soon as the Chinese are provided with railroads. The conservatism of centuries, and a self-sufficiency of appalling proportions, they imagine, will be swept away like the mists of a summer morning. But a dense ignorance, unlike that of untutored savages, whose minds are a *tabula rasa*, will not be dissipated by the shriek of a locomotive whistle. Chinese lack of knowledge possesses a different quality. It is the most uncompromising kind of ignorance. It is an ignorance begotten of fancied superiority—an ignorance that has enabled colonies of Chinese living side by side with Europeans to preserve an adamantine wall of resistance to Western innovations and improvement, and to smile with disdain at the peoples who are unfortunate enough to have been born elsewhere than in China.

This trait, taken in conjunction with another fact dwelt on by Mr. Little, raises the presumption that the mere matter of making communication easy in China will not at once convert the industrious people inhabiting the basin of the Yangtse into eager consumers of Western manufactured wares. If it be true, as Mr. Little asserts, that Szechuen (the most populous of all the provinces of China proper) is self-sufficient, what reason is there to hope that its people will at once abandon habits and prejudices that are the growth of centuries when the iron horse makes his advent in their midst? Is it conceivable that the "forty or fifty millions of industrious, intel-

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ligent, and mostly prosperous people" who inhabit the province of Szechuen (the "Statesman's Year Book" gives the number at 67,712,-897) will take kindly to an alteration of economic conditions which will destroy the opportunity of a large proportion of the population to earn a living? In short, does any one believe that the people Mr. Little tells us are now "self-sufficient" and "mostly prosperous" will willingly exchange their condition for one of dependence on foreigners?

If the tremendous obstacle that takes the form of a prejudice which resists every foreign innovation be overcome, and Western habits be adopted, we may be reasonably certain that the industrious and capable Chinese will not long remain consumers of foreign manufactured goods. But before discussing the probability of their engaging in a modern system of manufacturing on their own account, it will be advisable to consider what must be accomplished in order to induce the Chinese to adopt Western habits. It is loosely assumed, by some writers, that much progress has been made in that direction; but the evidence obtainable does not support their view. When we examine the statistics of Chinese trade closely, we find little in them to encourage the belief that the work of breaking down Chinese prejudice and creating fresh wants will be easily accomplished. According to the best data available, the imports into China during the year 1898 were valued at 209,579,000 Haikwan taels (less than $170,000,000). Commenting on these figures, Mr. F. E. Taylor, the Statistical Secretary of the Imperial Maritime Customs, calls attention to the fact that the increase over the year 1897, which amounted to nearly 8,000,000 taels, was mainly in opium, coal, raw cotton, kerosene oil, flour, and sugar; and he adds, very significantly, that "the imports of cotton goods have remained stationary for some years."

When we reflect that these imports represent the takings of foreign goods by the Chinese from all nations—Japan, India, Europe, and the United States—and that they were not composed wholly of manufactured goods, but embraced a large proportion of products of which the West has no surplus and is not particularly interested in promoting trade in, the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us that the showing has little in it to support the theory that the inhabitants of China are eager to consume Western manufactures. It is no satisfactory explanation of this tardy development to say that Chinese official corruption and lack of transportation facilities militate against

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a rapid expansion of trade. Doubtless, if China had a network of railroads, if her iron and coal mines were made productive, and if the burden of taxation were lightened, there would be some improvement. But we must not lose sight of the fact that for nearly half a century Europeans and Americans have had very few obstructions placed in the way of introducing their wares to the attention of the millions living in and near the treaty ports; and in that time they have not succeeded in securing as great a market for their surplus of manufactured products as that created in half the time in sparsely populated Argentina, which, according to the "Statesman's Year Book," imported goods in 1896, chiefly manufactures, to the value of $112,058,002.

Can this comparatively insignificant rate of consumption of foreign wares by Chinese be materially increased? Most writers assume that it will be. Some—as a correspondent of the London "Telegraph," who wrote to his paper under date of September 13, 1897—think that end will be effected, but that the process of bringing it about will be slow. The "Telegraph" writer fancied, however, that he noted signs of the Chinese assuming a favorable attitude toward "the ideas and institutions of the West." This phrase is one frequently employed by the optimistic observers of conditions in China; but it is quite evident that they are not speaking of religious or governmental institutions, but merely have in mind those Western modes of life that affect consumption.

They are clearly right in elevating this to the first place in a trade discussion; but it is doubtful whether example or anything else will induce the Chinese to abandon habits of life which are not alone the result of enforced conditions, but which seem to them to rest upon a sound economic basis. We are so accustomed to accept, without challenge, the assumption that conspicuous wastefulness is beneficial, that it is difficult for us to put ourselves in the proper frame of mind to examine the possible merits of economic methods which differ so radically from those of the West. We see only the drawbacks, real or fancied, that result from the failure to use labor-saving devices, and quite overlook the fact that so profound a student as J. Stuart Mill summed up his investigation of this particular problem with the remark that "hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of a human being." Perhaps there is no ground for assuming that the Chinese have consciously reached a similar conclusion; but the evidence is

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abundant that they fear that innovations which will have the effect of disturbing the existing order of things may work disastrously, by depriving people of an opportunity to earn a living.

In Lord Charles Beresford's report to the British Associated Chambers of Commerce, published in this country under the title of "The Break-up of China," several instances of opposition to the introduction of labor-saving machinery are furnished. Curiously enough, in commenting upon this attitude, Lord Beresford accepts the views of the Europeans he met in China, who tried to explain the hostility to labor-saving appliances, witnessed on every hand, on the ground of superstition or hatred of the foreign white devil. But an analysis of the cases cited does not support the view that a more intimate knowledge of the results of Western civilization would materially alter Chinese sentiment in this particular. The same spirit has been shown in a marked degree in the most advanced Western nations, and is met with in Great Britain to-day. One of the admitted difficulties experienced by British manufacturers in competing with foreigners is the limitation which the trade-unions place upon the use of labor-saving machinery. This is a highly important circumstance which we cannot afford to disregard in an inquiry of this kind; for it suggests that there may be a hitch in the theory that Chinese opposition to machinery is due to ignorance, which will be dispelled as soon as they become better acquainted with Western habits. In order to believe this we must satisfy ourselves that the sentiment of aversion for automatic machinery is not increasing among the working classes in the Western world; and this we cannot do if we accept as the real index of the feeling of the masses what they say and do for themselves, rather than the assertions of economic writers, who have the jaunty habit of ignoring the too patent fact, that the fear that he may not get the opportunity to earn a living is the nightmare of the modern toiler's existence.

The more the matter is considered from this standpoint, the more improbable it seems that the Chinese will be speedily induced to become customers for the products of Western machinery. The odious likin tax may be remitted and the corruption of provincial officials may be abated; but it is not certain that when these assumed obstacles to trade are removed foreign goods will be much more freely consumed by the Chinese than at present. Railways may be constructed by foreign capital, and every part of the Empire may be easily penetrated by the merchant, and still the Chinese may remain immovable. For some

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unexplained reason the optimistic writer has chosen to assume that propinquity is the one thing to be aimed at by Westerners in dealing with China. "Get near to the people," they say; "show what Western ingenuity has accomplished; take the goods to their very doors; exhibit to them the superiority of rapid movement upon metal rails over the slower methods of transportation; dig from the bowels of the earth the coal, copper, iron, and other minerals; do these things before the very eyes of the Chinese, and they will at once drop into our habits and become enormous consumers of those things which we produce to excess and desire to dispose of at a profit to Orientals."

Curiously enough, these propinquity theorists deliberately disregard the opportunity to study at close range a body of Chinese who have made their homes in a foreign country, and who therefore may be set down as among the most enterprising of their race. In the State of California there were, at the time of the taking of the last Census, nearly one hundred thousand Chinese. Of these over thirty thousand were crowded into the single city of San Francisco, forming nearly 10 per cent of its total population. Here, if anywhere, we might suppose would be found evidence of the possibility of impressing the Chinese with the superiority of Western habits. But there is no more striking feature in the life of the chief city of California than the utter unsusceptibility of the Chinese to their new environment. They do not alter their mode of life in the slightest degree. They wear the same dress, eat the same food, amuse themselves in the same fashion, and exhibit the same parsimony met with in the overpopulated provinces of China, where over five hundred inhabitants are crowded into a square mile of territory.

The logical inference from this state of affairs is, that the Chinese cannot be induced to adopt Western habits. This inference receives ample support when the investigator pushes the inquiry and endeavors to ascertain the views of the Chinese themselves. Thirty years of more or less familiarity with California's Chinese of all degrees, from the merchant to the man who hires himself out as a domestic, has convinced me that they one and all look with contempt upon Western achievements; and even when compelled to employ the conveniences created by the ingenuity of Americans and Europeans, they regard them either as a necessary evil or as something to be made use of in exploiting the people among whom they live. But more significant than anything else is their intense clannishness. The few products of Western origin consumed by the Chinese in

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San Francisco and in the other cities and towns of the State of California are invariably bought from Chinese. Such a thing as Europeans or Americans manufacturing for Chinese consumption is never thought of; and if the idea ever did occur it would be speedily abandoned, because if the article was one which this curious people really desired they would turn to and make it themselves.

To ignore facts such as these, and persistently to assume that what fifty years of Western environment has been unable to accomplish in California will be effected in the twinkling of an eye in China by simply making it possible to get at the Chinese, is absurd. There is every reason to believe that the causes which produce the remarkable results noticed in California will operate with much more power in China. If after fifty years of residence in California the Chinese and their descendants in that State adhere to their conventional dress and habits as closely as though such a course were dictated by religion, why should we suppose that the four hundred millions of their countrymen at home would act differently? Would it not be more sensible to inquire into the motives which influence them than to assume that they are the victims of a blind conservatism, which only needs to be broken down to make them excellent customers for Western wares?

If an investigation should be made along these lines much would be found to support the belief that the Chinese instinctively reject the theory upon which Western civilization is based. So far as I have been able to observe in California, the Chinese are utterly impervious to the feeling which influences Western people to put forth exertion. Veblen, in his instructive study of "The Theory of a Leisure Class," points out that "the standard of expenditure which commonly guides our effort is not the average, ordinary expenditure already achieved; it is an ideal consumption that lies just beyond our reach, or to reach which requires some strain. The motive is emulation—the stimulus of an invidious comparison which prompts us to outdo those with whom we are in the habit of classing ourselves." Now, this stimulus can never operate strongly in countries whose peoples, like the Chinese, have obtained uniformity in the outward habits of life. It is to be feared that in communities of this kind the only incentive to accumulation is the mere desire for subsistence, which takes the form of providing for a rainy day. The desire for reputability, which is responsible for the system of conspicuous waste that marks the expenditures of all highly civilized Western peoples, and is ac-

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countable for the chief part of the consumption of manufactured goods in the Western world, is almost unknown in China; and it is doubtful whether such a struggle could be incited in that country.

It is not without significance that distinctions in rank in China are unmarked by a striking variation in dress. The gradations in official life are simply indicated by a peculiarity in the buttons worn on the headgear. Fashion has no votaries among the Chinese of any class. Such abnormalities as feet compression are badges of servitude. They are not prompted, as are the changes in the style of Western dress, by the emulative spirit. The fact that a woman has small feet in China fixes her status as the wife or concubine of a rich man. Their possession by one class does not tempt those who cannot maintain their women-folk in idleness to imitate them. The cue, like the small foot, suggests status more than fashion. It is a race badge; and the mode of wearing it is fixed as though it were regulated by Draconian laws. The Chinese dress, male and female, has this same character of fixedness. The materials of which it is made may vary in richness; but the style is invariable. The subjects of the Emperor who reigned when Marco Polo traversed the Empire, if they could be recalled to life, would find nothing strange in the costumes of their modern successors.

Uniformity and fixity have been the striking feature of Chinese dress for centuries. The same may be said of their habitations. John Thomson, in his recent book, "Through China with a Camera," noted that their houses "everywhere preserve one uniform low level," the monotonous appearance produced by them being broken only at rare intervals by a tall temple or lofty pawnshop. The interior of these houses is as uniform as their exterior. Another investigator whose attention was attracted by this remarkable peculiarity concluded, after diligent inquiry, that the meagre furnishing and the extreme plainness which marked nearly all the interiors he saw were due to a national trait, and were not enforced by poverty nor lack of things with which to make the home beautiful. This opinion is borne out by the personal observations of the writer, who has found the houses or apartments of the more prosperous Chinese merchants of San Francisco plain to severity, and has learned from many persons who employ Chinese as domestics that they are, as a rule, indifferent to the appearance of the room assigned to them to sleep in, and that they nearly all would prefer to herd in "Chinatown," if permitted to do so.

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This latter trait is significant. When we are told that in a great Chinese city like Canton "most of the workshops are kitchen, dining-room, and bed-room too," and that in these the workmen "breakfast on their benches, and at night stretch themselves out on them to sleep," we may readily suppose that the density of population is responsible for this condition of affairs. But throughout California, where the Chinese, in spite of the misleading term "Chinese cheap labor," enjoy better wages than most of the purely laboring class of the Western world, the same phenomenon is witnessed. I have seen Chinese, earning over two dollars a day, sleeping in bunks crowded as closely together as those in the steerage of an ocean steamer. Indifference to surroundings, the gregarious instinct, and parsimony seem to furnish the explanation of this tendency. But these traits are not the product of a day; they are the result of an intense struggle for existence extending through thousands of years; they are as much a part of the national character, and distinguish the Chinese in as pronounced a manner, as their visible physical peculiarities, and, perhaps, are as ineradicable.

Such a state of affairs does not encourage the belief that the Chinese will speedily exchange their habits and become consumers of Western goods on a large scale. The more carefully the subject is considered the more reasonable it seems to conclude that circumstances and temperament will conspire to prevent the Chinese adopting the wasteful habits of consumption which are so conspicuous a feature of Western life. Veblen tells us that

> "it frequently happens that an element of the standard of living which sets out with being primarily wasteful ends with becoming, in the apprehension of the consumer, a necessity of life; and it may in this way become as indispensable as any other item of the consumer's habitual expenditure."

As items which fall under this head he cites carpets and tapestries, silver table service, waiters' services, silk hats, starched linen, and many articles of dress. This list might be indefinitely extended by adding to it all those things which emulation prompts us to use in adorning our persons and our houses, but which do not add to our comfort, and in no sense may be regarded as necessaries. These the Chinese masses appear to have absolutely no desire for; and those who fancy that the taste for useless articles will spring up spontaneously when they are introduced to their notice, and resources are developed which will enable them to find the means to purchase,

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will probably learn some day that an ingrained economic instinct produced by centuries of enforced abstemiousness may prove as powerful in determining the industrial character of a people as the propensity to conspicuous wastefulness, which Veblen shows is the mainspring of Western progress.

It is not impossible, however, that, while rejecting the wasteful habits which promote consumption, the Chinese may be disposed to encourage the tendency of others to expend conspicuously. Recurring to that small section of the Chinese people inhabiting California, we find that while they absolutely reject Western customs, and practise the severest kind of economy, they are ready to take advantage of the wasteful propensities of Europeans and Americans. The Chinese are too sensible to wear starched shirts and collars; but they are not averse to making and laundering them for the white people, who affect such inconveniences. The Chinese, male and female, living in San Francisco adhere to the conventional garb of their country, and regard with an amused contempt the impulse which prompts Americans, rich and poor, to frill and furbelow garments hidden from observation; but they are cunning manufacturers of lingerie, and push their Caucasian competitors for the trade of the wastefully inclined. The Chinese in America persist in wearing shoes made of peculiar materials and fashioned as they are in China; but they do not on that account refrain from manufacturing the more costly, because more ornate, footgear demanded by the whites.

These illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely; but enough have been cited to establish the proposition that the Chinese are very handy, and that they may be depended upon, if encouraged to do so, to employ their talents in ministering to the highly artificial wants of others, while at the same time they may refuse to be drawn into the vortex of the system of conspicuous wastefulness. If this probability is looked squarely in the face, it will be seen that it is pregnant with mischief for the workers of the Western world, who, whether for good or evil, have aspirations which continually impel them to raise their standard of conspicuous consumption to a higher point. The result of this tendency is to increase labor cost; because the relatively greater expenditure which the struggle of the Western worker to reach a higher place involves constantly prompts him to demand more and more for his services. Other things being equal, it is obvious that, in a free competition between two classes of workers, the one with a disposition continually to demand a greater remuneration, and the other

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content to accept what will furnish him a subsistence, the advantage must be with the latter.

The availability of Chinese labor for manufacturing purposes will not be seriously questioned by any one who has seen the success achieved by this people in such industries as that of shoemaking by machinery, the fashioning of men's and women's garments, of all kinds—in fact, in every industry which a jealous community like that of San Francisco has permitted them openly to pursue. It would be absurd to assume that what has been accomplished in an American city by the Chinese cannot be imitated by them in China. Herein lies the menace to the West. It is the knowledge of Chinese adaptability that makes it questionable whether the introduction of Western habits into the Empire will not result in a setback to our civilization. It may be possible for the extremists, who accept without cavil the doctrine that overproduction is impossible, to view with equanimity the opening of coal-measures whose area has been estimated by Baron Richtofen, the celebrated geologist, at 400,000 square miles, and the development of stores of iron, rivalling in abundance and richness those of the United States ; but the practical man, who merely takes account of the periodic depressions which result from the glut of goods in the markets of the world, may think differently. The workers of Europe and the United States may not take kindly to the prospect of China's vast stores of mineral wealth being converted by Chinese into finished articles for consumption in the Western world. As I have shown, it is probable that in the earlier stages of the modern industrial development the vast surplus energy of the Empire will be utilized in manufacturing for outsiders rather than for Chinese. The latter, until they radically change their habits of living, until they learn to consume wastefully, must necessarily be poor customers for the wares which they may produce in profusion.

It is sometimes assumed that the manufacturing tendency can never develop itself in a country where the domestic consumption of manufactures is small; but experience shows that the view is not tenable. Germany is to-day the greatest manufacturer of sugar in the world ; but the domestic consumption is insignificant by comparison with that of countries which do not produce a pound. Birmingham and other manufacturing centres turn out machinery and other articles the uses of which are almost unknown to the people in whose midst they are produced. This being the case, the assumption that China will not become a manufacturing country until she first learns

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to consume manufactured goods must be set down as a cheerful bit of optimism, which may be easily traced to the practice of making wishes act as father to pleasant thoughts and predictions.

On the whole, in spite of the weight of contrary opinion, it may be safely predicted that the opening of China to the trade of the world will not be followed by the results which are so confidently expected by people who have surplus products that they are anxious to dispose of at a profit. Instead, the effect of the opening and awakening will probably be to bring disaster upon Western industrialism, unless a barrier can be interposed to the competition of a race whose most striking characteristic is the entire absence of those desires and aspirations which Americans and Europeans strive to gratify. This notable peculiarity, at this stage of the world's development, may give the Chinese an overwhelming advantage in the struggle for existence, and compel the Western working classes to abandon their ideals.

JOHN P. YOUNG.

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LAST WINTER'S TRAGEDIES OF THE SEA.

BETWEEN the eighteenth and the twenty-seventh of January last ten "tramp" cargo steamers left various points on the eastern coast of the United States, bound across the Atlantic for ports in the British Isles and Western Europe, to be heard of no more. These vessels were the American steamer "Allegheny," 3,004 tons, which sailed from New York, on January 19, for Dover and Amsterdam; the British steamers "Picton," 2,371 tons, from Newport News, January 20, for Sligo; "City of Wakefield," 3,004 tons, for Rotterdam, coaling at Norfolk, Va., on January 23; "Laughton," 2,436 tons, from New Orleans, January 15, for Copenhagen, coaling at Newport News on January 23; "Dora Forster," 2,473 tons, from Savannah, January 23, for Liverpool; "Oberon," 2,728 tons, from Baltimore, January 25, for Antwerp; the German steamer "Minister Maybach," 2,710 tons, from New York, the same day, for Antwerp; the British steamers "Croft," 2,765 tons, from New York, January 26, for Leith; "Arona," 3,388 tons, from Portland, Me., the same day, for London; and "Port Melbourne," 4,760 tons, from New York, January 27, also for London. Of these vessels the "Port Melbourne" was the largest and finest. Next in order came the "Arona," the "Allegheny," and the "City of Wakefield;" the rest being all ordinary-sized cargo vessels, registered at an average gross capacity of 2,500 or 2,600 tons.

Since the dates of their departure not a single trace or vestige of any of the missing vessels has been found; although they were overpowered and lost in one of the most frequented parts of the ocean. They were apparently not sunk by collision or stranded upon any coast. Had either of these mishaps occurred, some clew as to their fate would certainly have been found. The probability is that they were caught by the terrible storms which, during the latter days of January and the beginning of February, raged over a large and well-defined area of the mid-Atlantic; and were unable to cope successfully with them. Following practically the same route toward the western entrance to the English Channel, it is likely that they all foundered at about the same time and within a few miles of each other.

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Owing to damage received during the same series of storms, the Cunarder, "Pavonia," and the Hamburg-American liner, "Bulgaria," were at that time long overdue. The uncertainty as to their fate occasioned serious apprehension because they carried a considerable number of passengers; whereas the loss of vessels engaged principally in the transportation of freight is not brought to the notice of the general public except in cases of wide-spread catastrophe. In the cases under consideration the number of lives sacrificed amounted to upwards of 3,000 seamen. Those who were lost were domiciled principally in the British Isles; and the distress and suffering entailed upon those dependent on them was so marked, and so widely felt, that a public subscription was opened, by the mayor of South Shields, for the relief of the bereaved families, in which place and vicinity the majority of the drowned men were resident. The gross money loss in the shape of ships and cargoes has been estimated at from two and a half to three millions of dollars; the gross capacity of the vessels being over thirty thousand tons.

In order that the general reader may form a clear conception of the various causes tending to shorten the lives of those vessels which conduct the carrying trade of the world under all conditions, at all seasons, and in all climates, it will be necessary for me to avoid, as far as possible, the use of technical terms. Nevertheless, the question is here discussed from a professional standpoint; my opinions and suggestions being based upon the experience of a lifetime.

It may be well to state, at the outset, that most of the strictures which will be made here should not be taken as applicable to the giant steamships of the great transatlantic lines and other first-class vessels employed in the mail and passenger service throughout the world. Owing to the absolute necessity of their maintaining a high rate of speed throughout their passages, such vessels are more finely lined; *i.e.*, sharper in outline, than the more box-like cargo steamers; the difference between the two in this respect being as marked as that existing between a fast steam-yacht and a mud-scow. Were our liners of the same shape under water as the "tramp" steamer, they could not be propelled at anything like their present speed; nor would their hulls be capable of bearing the jarring and vibratory strain of the powerful machinery necessary to drive them. Furthermore, the immersion necessary to obtain the best results from the revolutions of the screws, a desire to deliver the goods carried in good condition, and some consideration for the comfort of the passengers, who would be

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very unpleasantly affected by excessive vibration and shaking, are inducements toward constructing first-class steamers as strongly and solidly as possible. Now, this aim is considerably furthered by securing a depth greater in proportion to the breadth than is found in vessels built for the transportation of cargo only.

The enormous advantage of a deep ship over a shallow one, as regards strength, and the ability of a shallow vessel to carry upon a lighter draught of water the same amount of weight as a deeper one, may be practically illustrated by an oblong box having less depth than breadth. Such a box will, of course, contain the same amount of any substance regardless of whether it be placed upon its wider or its narrower sides; yet, if supported at both ends, it will be capable of sustaining a greater amount of weight when its sides of greater width are vertical than when they are so placed as to form the top and bottom. In other words, the box will be strongest when resting upon its narrower surface. To this circumstance is due the deep liner's superior structural strength as compared with that of the shallow cargo-steamer. The method followed by the designers of the latter type of vessel seems to-day to consist in taking away from the depth and adding to the width, with the view of enabling vessels to carry heavier cargoes upon shallower draughts of water. The reason for this is, that vessels having a smaller draught can have access, when laden, to places where vessels of deeper draught cannot float without previously incurring the expense of being lightened. The consequence is, that the hulls of vessels built upon these modern lines are structurally weak.

Our present steel plates and frames are inferior in weight and thickness to those formerly employed, which were of iron. Indeed, every innovation made during recent years has had a tendency to reduce the weight of steamers. Of late, owing mainly to its comparative cheapness of manufacture, steel has entirely superseded the heavier metal in this department of marine construction. The substitution of thinner plates and lighter frames of a softer substance for thicker and heavier ones of a harder metal is a disadvantage under which the modern cargo-boat labors from the very outset. I do not intend to enter into any discussion here as to the failings or merits of either form of metal as compared with the other; but those who have seen both, under the same conditions and subjected to the same tests, know that a vessel built of iron will always be stronger than one of the same type built of steel. Insurance companies and underwriters who take

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risks upon vessels have a leaning toward steel, because, being less brittle, vessels built of it will, when stranded, always bear more pounding without fatal damage than will those built of iron; but it must be remembered that vessels are intended to float upon water and not to try conclusions with rocks. Practical experience has shown that steel vessels of the *carrier variety*, when subjected to such strains as I shall later specify, seem to lack the rigidity which was so marked a characteristic of the iron vessels, and that, consequently, they are not so well adapted to stand the violent usage to which they are at all times liable to be put.

In order that a vessel may maintain an upright position when afloat it is necessary to have some weight in her; such weight, when not consisting of goods or freight, being called ballast. Nearly fifty years ago steamers were already built with double bottoms; the space between the two being, when necessary, filled with water. This was used as ballast in place of the stone, sand, or rubble, which, prior to that time, had been put into holds for the same purpose, the taking in and discharging of which entailed both expense and delay. The system of ballasting with water has long since been universally adopted; and in the cargo steamers now being built the quantity of water so carried generally constitutes about one-sixth or less of the vessel's full load. In the more finely lined and deeper vessels of the past, the amount of water thus contained between the two bottoms was sufficient to produce greater immersion than can be obtained in those of more recent construction by the same proportion of their dead-weight capacity. The use of steel instead of iron in the building of ships has reduced the weight of material in them by about 12 per cent; the triple expansion, now used in place of the former compound, engines and boilers have reduced the weight of machinery by 5 or 6 per cent, and have effected a saving of at least 25 per cent in the amount of fuel consumed; while the substitution of light bituminous, for heavy Portland, cement makes a difference of from seventy to ninety tons in the weight of a 6,000-ton steamer. Thus we see that, down to matters of the smallest detail, every effort is made to keep the weight of vessels as small as possible.

While the size of ocean-going vessels has of late years considerably increased, their weight has by no means grown in proportion; nor have designers so far done anything toward endeavoring to compensate by some plan of ballasting for the weight now saved in the construction of these vessels. The result is, that there are to-day hundreds

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of steamers afloat, in all parts of the world, which are not fit to undertake transoceanic passages in ballast; owing to their lightness and consequent small displacement, their great height above the water-line, and the imperfect immersion of their screws. Disaster after disaster has of late years been the direct outcome of this condition. The list of casualties to these vessels while in ballast shows that the risk to human life as well as to capital has been positively appalling. Moreover, this risk has not been due to overloading, but to the very opposite cause. So serious has this question become, that a resolution was recently introduced in the House of Lords, which sought to lay down that "an instruction be issued to the Board of Trade authorizing them to detain any vessel leaving a British port unless her propeller is two-thirds immersed." This resolution was, unfortunately, not carried; and the prospect of getting a minimum or ballast load-line for steamers made compulsory by law seems to be as slight as ever.

The effect of these peculiarities of form upon the vessel's safety can hardly be realized by one who has not had some actual experience with the behavior of these craft while at sea. It is not unusual to see steamers setting out upon a passage across the North Atlantic, during the winter months, in such light trim, that only a little more than half the screw propeller is in the water. Even when such contrary weather and seas as may be called rough are encountered by them in this trim, they soon become unmanageable; and even in the comparatively smooth waters of the Mediterranean they frequently cannot be made to face the wind and sea. In gales such as are to be expected in the Atlantic during winter, life on board of these ships is nothing short of intolerable. As the vessel's stern is alternately raised and depressed while she pitches over the seas, the propeller is sometimes in the water and sometimes out of it. Not being retarded in its rotary movement by the resistance of the water, it becomes, when in the latter position, a wind-mill, revolving for a few seconds at the rate of perhaps three hundred or more revolutions per minute instead of at its normal speed of about sixty or seventy. While flying round at this terrific rate, it is suddenly plunged into the water as the vessel's stern becomes immersed. Owing to the severe and varying strains thus exerted upon the machinery, and especially upon the shaft, this racing of the propeller is, without doubt, the direct cause of the majority of cases of machinery break-downs at sea. The jarring and vibration caused by it loosen the rivets and plates in the stern; and there are numerous cases on record in which this most serious of all defects has necessitated

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the cutting out and re-riveting of many plates aft. Not long ago a court of inquiry was held in England in relation to the loss of the steamer "Rossmore," which was last winter abandoned in the Atlantic; and its finding was that, while in ballast trim, she had been so thoroughly shaken, and had leaked so badly in consequence, that it was found necessary to abandon her.

Second in importance is the evil of "pounding;" *i.e.*, the hammering action to which the forward part of the vessel—about one-third of the entire ship—while in ballast, is exposed. This is caused by the bow rising upon the crest of the waves and then suddenly dropping into the trough of the sea. This motion makes a noise and causes a sensation similar to what would be heard and felt if the vessel were striking upon rocks. It is highly dangerous; and instances are known in which the framework of the bottom has been broken, plates and rivets have been loosened, and the "stanchions" or iron uprights (which extend from the bottom of the ship to support the deck above) have been bent by the tremendous impact of these blows. An example of the destructive force of this action was lately brought to light, in which the cost of repairing the damage done to a steamer in ballast, while on its way to the United States, amounted to over twenty-three thousand dollars.

It must be remembered, also, that fully a half of the journeyings of the modern cargo-tramp must be made in ballast. The outward freights from European countries are small when compared with those sent there from other lands; and, moreover, the various regular liners, as a rule, secure all the European export trade. The cargo steamers, consequently, spend a good deal of their time in going about between different places empty, or nearly so. During these freightless voyagings their water-ballast space, already described, will be filled; and they will, on starting from Europe, probably have on board sufficient fuel to last them out and back. This coal will, of course, be placed as near as possible to the boilers, which are located in the centre of the ship. On the outward run by far the greater portion of the weight—engines, boilers, and fuel—is thus placed amidships; and this disposal, combined with the pitching and pounding already described, has a tendency to depress the middle of the hull and to exert upon it a series of strains exactly the reverse of those imposed when the vessel is loaded for the return passage to Europe. Several cases are known in which the plating of cargo steamers has been so tried by these alternating strains as to crack it half-way between the centre and the ends

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of the ship. Varying strains of this sort are largely responsible for the weakening of vessels originally of inferior material or poor workmanship.

It must not be supposed that the vessels enrolled among the highest class at Lloyds, or at any of the other bureaus of classification, are all of equal strength or excellence of construction. The hollow mockery of professing that all sorts and conditions of vessels are built in accordance with the same high standard has been the outcome of competition between these classifying agencies, and has resulted in the lowering of their standard of requirements to such a degree, that vessels of the type we are dealing with, avowedly built only sufficiently strong to comply with the essentials of such requirements, are now weaker than those of their class have ever been heretofore. And yet their names are to be seen upon the pages of the various registers with those of the best built vessels in the world; the owners not caring whether Lloyds or the other bureaus "class" them or not.

Another characteristic of these craft, while in light or ballast trim, is their rapid and violent rolling, which again contributes to the severe straining of the hull. This rolling is due to the abnormally low centre of gravity; the ballast being almost entirely at the bottom of the vessel. Apart from the injury caused to the hull by this straining influence, and the detriment to the vessel's speed, the rolling motion is probably the most trying of the many inconveniences which the crews of these freighters have to endure. Before the laws of wave oscillation were formulated it was not nearly so common as it is at present; and notwithstanding the possibility of remedying this defect, designers have as yet done nothing to overcome it. This rolling of the vessel, pounding of the hull, and racing of the screw convert the empty ocean-tramp into a pandemonium of unearthly sounds; and when this unearthly din is continued for some time, as is frequently the case, the effect produced upon the crew is that of complete despondency. There are times when, owing to the heavy seas, which are the leading characteristic of winter in the North Atlantic, no food can be cooked for days; when men, relaxing their grip of some stationary object, are liable to be thrown across the deck and injured, if not killed; when firing the boilers becomes next to an impossibility; when sleep is not to be had for days consecutively. As these helpless pendulums swing with terrifying rapidity through an arc of ninety degrees or more, and drive away at right angles to the direction in which they are supposed to go, life becomes indeed a veritable burden.

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Is it difficult to understand that life under such circumstances should not be at its safest, or that casualties should be of frequent occurrence? I have been guilty of no exaggeration, and my assertions are substantiated as follows: (1) by the list of twenty-six steamers, all more or less in ballast trim, which had breakages in their shafting while bound westward in the North Atlantic, from December, 1896, to December, 1897; (2) by the knowledge of ship-repairers, on both sides of the Atlantic, who have repeatedly had to make extensive repairs on these vessels; and (3) by the experience of those who have been on them.

Undermanning must also be taken as contributory to disaster, in many instances. The complement of men found upon the decks of these vessels usually consists of two mates and six seamen, irrespective of the size of the craft. Under normal conditions, these men have as much as they can manage to do; their hours of duty averaging from thirteen to sixteen daily. In case of any emergency the force is not sufficiently large nor is it in the proper condition to undergo the needed exertion. A committee was appointed some years ago, in England, to inquire into this question of the manning of ships; but, owing to some features in its composition, upon which I shall dwell later on, the proceedings of this body resulted in a fiasco.

From the above it appears that the following are the most fruitful causes of disaster to vessels of the cargo-carrying type: (1) initial faults of construction; (2) unequal strains while in ballast, caused by the pitching, rolling, and racing of the machinery; (3) distortion of the hull during ocean passages made alternately while laden and in ballast; (4) undermanning. Another source of trouble, scarcely less dangerous than the foregoing, is the improper distribution of weights, which is traceable to insufficient trimming of coal, the careless heaping of grain, and other defects in loading. Nowhere is this pernicious system more generally practised than in the United States, where the steamer is placed in the hands of brokers and freighters, whose sole aim it is to make as much profit as possible out of the vessel, regardless of the question of safety. These are the most dangerous enemies of the cargo-ship and its crew. A fair example of the recklessness common to these men is the custom now so prevalent of removing the stanchions, which support the deck, so as to facilitate the loading of timber, and of placing upon decks, thus unsupported, heavy loads of wood. In a recent instance it was found that the decks of a steamer, which had been subjected to this usage, had subsided three inches in the centre, and that the stanchions could not be readjusted.

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Another plan now adopted by owners of a certain class of ships consists in loading first the extremities of the vessel, so as to cause it to rise in the middle, whereby it becomes enabled to sustain more weight. This method, also, is fraught with danger to the hull and machinery. Undeniably, the evils of defective loading are attributable in part to carelessness on the part of the ship's officers. Their negligence, however, is frequently apparent rather than real; being originated and fostered by the vindictive attitude of unscrupulous speculators toward seamen who may consider it their duty to disagree with them upon a question of safety. The shipowner, who usually knows nothing of the dangers to which ships are liable, is known from experience invariably to coincide with the views of the charterer; and, for this reason, the ship's officer, although he may be sure that safety is being made subservient to other interests, will, in most cases, refrain from doing what he is aware will be looked upon with disfavor by both of the parties, in whose power he knows himself to be.

A good deal of the recklessness and apathy shown by shipowners and speculators is to be accounted for by the possibility of insuring in full against loss of ship, cargo, and even unearned freight. Indeed, unlimited insurance has unquestionably done much toward cheapening life upon the ocean. When, finally, in addition to these facts, the damage inflicted by derelicts and icebergs is taken into account, it becomes a matter of astonishment that the list of casualties is not much greater than it is.

There must always be some liability to accident at sea as everywhere else; but it is quite certain that the number of serious casualties could be materially reduced by the employment of certain feasible remedies. From sources more or less interested the public is daily informed that these accidents are unavoidable; and, owing to their limited knowledge of nautical matters, the people at large cannot understand that the majority of accidents are due to preventable causes. Ships can be built on good plans, of good material, and with good workmanship, and can be so laden as to insure freedom from loss by storm, except under highly exceptional circumstances. Although this is evident to those familiar with the subject, it is difficult of comprehension to the uninitiated. The question has been frequently debated by committees in England—the country which, above all others, would be likely to be interested in the life and capital employed upon the sea.

However good the intentions of the government may have been in

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organizing investigations, the proceedings have always been rendered abortive, owing to the composition of the deliberative bodies themselves. The principal points under examination in these quasi-tribunals concern the interests of the members sitting in judgment, who largely belong to the shipowning class and its following. In view of this fact, it is not astonishing that experts summoned to these meetings should fear to give expression to opinions antagonistic to the interests of those who give them employment. Indeed, of those who in the past have freely expressed their views upon this subject many have been boycotted. The injury resulting from the appointment of such committees was last year evidenced in a striking manner in London, apropos of the question concerning the additional winter free-board hitherto allowed to vessels employed in the North Atlantic. For reasons already stated, it was extremely difficult to find men willing to give evidence on this point. As a result the Committee recommended that the winter free-board be reduced from one-third to one-fourth its former size in vessels under 330 feet in length, and that it be abolished entirely in vessels of greater length—a suggestion entirely at variance with the opinions of all practical, up-to-date experts, and furthermore proved unjustifiable by heavy losses recently sustained. This feature of the case is by no means creditable to humanity in general, and still less so to the class that employs such tactics; but there is, unfortunately, no shadow of doubt that these methods have been practised in the past, and that they are still employed.

The loading of ships should not only be more carefully studied, but should also be more largely controlled, by those legally responsible for their safety. The loss of the "Londonian," and the narrow escape of the "Bulgaria," last winter, both attributable to the same cause, point to the necessity of exercising greater precaution in the loading of grain and in the transportation of live-stock. Even in cases where no accident occurs, penalties should be inflicted for driving ahead at full speed through a fog, at the risk of collision, or while in the vicinity of ice or land. By none can the risks of sea traffic, under existing conditions, be more deeply realized than by those to whose care are intrusted the vast numbers of lives on the great Atlantic liners, and on the various railway steamers which cross daily, through crowded waters, from the coast of Great Britain to the ports of continental Europe; and yet, as in the case of the terrible wreck of the "Stella," upon the Casquets, in the English Channel, the officers are almost powerless to prevent accidents.

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The travelling public does not realize these risks, and is, therefore, inclined to oppose a reduction of speed. I believe, however, in the axiom, that if people do not understand their danger, it is the business of legislation to guard them. Both the public and the companies connive more or less openly at it, with the inevitable result that sooner or later some terrible catastrophe must occur. Cargo-ships could and should be so strongly built and so laden as to be able to carry any cargo without injury to themselves, and to withstand the action of any weather and sea. They could, furthermore, be so constructed as always to carry a quantity of ballast sufficient to avoid that fearful straining, and consequent disintegration, of the hull, to which reference has been made.

It has been frequently suggested, that the underwriters and insurance companies who undertake risks upon vessels should take some steps to introduce improvements. But this is purely visionary. It is quite beyond the province of such people to advise upon, or to control, the working of ships. The underwriter insures ships in order to make a profit. He summarizes his losses from all causes, and from the result deduces a premium by the charging of which he will be able to leave for himself a margin of profit. If for any reason whatsoever the proportion of loss increases, the premiums charged by him are raised proportionately. As a matter of fact, they are now constantly increasing. The interests of the travelling public and those of the men who, unfortunately, are obliged to make their living on the sea urgently demand that legislation put a stop to the reckless disregard of life and waste of property which go on under the present dispensation.

A. G. Froud.

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MR. McCARTHY'S REMINISCENCES.[1]

Mr. Justin McCarthy has done well in writing his own "Reminiscences," and in thus forestalling, perhaps, the inevitable, or at least the normally to be expected filial biography. He is not the first, of course, to set this example. Mr. Aubrey De Vere and Prof. Max Müller, to mention no others, have but lately presented us with volumes well worthy of a place beside Mr. McCarthy's; but every distinguished recruit to a good cause accelerates the speed of its success and deserves grateful recognition.

It is by no means certain, however, that, in an age devoted to the perusal of biographies great and small, a large number of readers will prefer voluminous "reminiscences" to an equally voluminous "life and letters." If there are formal biographies that bore us, and do not even seem to contain much valuable material for the future historian, there are, on the other hand, biographies like Mr. Mackail's recent "Life of William Morris" that please us greatly, and are also full of matter possessing permanent interest. Such being the case, we are at once led to ask, whether there is not some way of determining what sort of men should write their own "recollections," and what sort of men should have their lives written by others. There does seem to be such a way, but naturally it is not a rigidly precise one.

There can be little question that men who have done great deeds or thought great thoughts should have their lives written, whether or not they have themselves composed autobiographies or volumes of reminiscences. There is equally little question that men who have played integral parts in great movements should have the honor of a biography. A "life and letters" is also welcomed in the case of every man who is a notable letter-writer; and the life even of a minor personage may be made the thread of an important historical or literary study. But it does not seem necessary that secondary men of action or of thought, especially when they are quite or nearly contemporaneous with ourselves, should be made the subjects of biographies, almost al-

[1] "Reminiscences." By Justin McCarthy, M.P. Two volumes. New York and London, Harper and Brothers. 1899.

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ways padded, simply because there happens to be quite a craze for biographical literature. Surely there have been many biographies published of late for which a memorial sketch, a magazine article, or a cyclopædia notice would have been an acceptable substitute. And just as surely desiderated biographies, like that of the late Poet Laureate, have been injudiciously padded.

On the other hand, there is slight doubt that many fairly eminent men, whose lives and letters, strictly speaking, are not greatly necessary either to our enjoyment or to our culture, have been brought in contact with great men or have taken part in great events in such a way that while they do not owe the world a formal autobiography, they do owe it a volume of recollections or a series of reminiscential sketches. The personalities of these men may be engaging ; but they are hardly commanding enough to demand either an autobiographical or a biographical setting forth. Yet if they did not keep diaries—a kind of self-revelation in which even a Pepys may become a hero and a benefactor—or if they did not write their "reminiscences," how many delightful books would be lacking to the literature of the world ! It must, of course, be understood that sometimes a peculiar faculty for self-revelation may make the autobiography of a scoundrel fascinating reading, and that the born biographer can work wonders with a homely life for his theme ; but it is their literary, not their strictly biographical, character, that, as a rule, makes such books live.

We must come back, however, to Mr. McCarthy ; and, on doing so, we perceive at once that the above remarks are not so much of a digression as they may seem. Mr. McCarthy's book derives its main interest from the fact that he rarely or never obtrudes himself, or, at least, the minor events of his life, and that he deals more or less fully with a large number of the more distinguished Englishmen and Americans of the last half-century. In other words, Mr. McCarthy belongs presumably to our second group, the legitimate writers of "reminiscences ;" and his book is a success, in part at least, because it belongs to the class of books that such men as he should write. He has been a successful journalist and public speaker, a conscientious, talented, and very versatile man of letters, an important representative of Ireland in Parliament for many eventful years ; but he has seemingly not so stamped himself upon the literature or the history of Great Britain as to make necessary a formal account of his life and labors, so far as we can judge at present—although a monograph on his political career may be useful, and his correspondence valuable. But he has seen

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enough and heard enough to make one feel that he would have done the world a distinct injustice had he not followed Prof. Max Müller's example and whiled away a period of convalescence by writing these charming volumes.

That they ought to be instructive as well as charming will be granted by any prospective reader who recalls Mr. McCarthy's facility as a writer and is apprized of their scope. The forty-three chapters, which fill nearly eight hundred pages, deal with such men as Lord Brougham, Carlyle, Thackeray, Dickens, Cobden, John Bright, the younger Mill, Sumner, Walt Whitman, Beecher, Brigham Young, George Meredith, Charles Reade, Anthony Trollope, Lord Randolph Churchill, Prince Napoleon, Parnell, Froude, Freeman, Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone, and—will his Imperialist admirers pardon the collocation?—Mr. Rudyard Kipling. Surely, here is abundant matter for those who believe that "the proper study of mankind is man." But this list, brilliant and varied as it is, by no means exhausts the number of notabilities about whom Mr. McCarthy has something to say. He has known distinguished women, too—George Eliot, to whom he devotes a chapter; Lady Russell, the widow of "Lord John;" to say nothing of actresses, including Miss Rehan, and of the advocate of the rights of her sex, who discussed her great topic in a sleeping-car, while unceremoniously making her toilet and removing "the greater portion of her hair" from her head to a convenient hook.

Nor are American eccentrics the only ones that figure in Mr. McCarthy's pages. A chapter is devoted to the "Exile World" of London, which has always contained its pathetic oddities as well as its genuine martyrs. There are chapters also on journalistic London, on the literary men of Boston, on some distinguished soldiers of our Civil War, on the English Positivists, on great lawyers and physicians, on leading scientists, on actors, travellers, and war correspondents, and, naturally, on various members of Parliament, especially from recalcitrant Ireland. A list of the men thus sketched on a less ample scale would almost equal in importance the remarkable enumeration made above. Among them are found Matthew Arnold, Louis Blanc, General Boulanger, Charles Bradlaugh, Robert Browning, Disraeli, Garibaldi, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Frederic Harrison, Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall, Lewes, Lord Sherbrooke (Robert Lowe), John Morley, General Prim, Lord Rosebery, Lord Rosmead (Sir Hercules Robinson), Dean Stanley, and a host of lesser celebrities.

Indeed, one finds it difficult, after finishing the volumes, to deter-

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mine, even with the aid of the index, what leading Englishmen and Americans of the half-century just closing, Mr. McCarthy has not known more or less well. Many a cultured American has lived to a ripe old age without meeting a tithe of the distinguished compatriots he can find familiarly mentioned in these pages. But, after all, this world is a crowded one, and Mr. McCarthy has not met every one, or at least he has not recorded the meeting. Mr. Austin Dobson and the versatile Mr. Andrew Lang are not mentioned in any of his chapters; nor are Stevenson or Barrie or Crockett or "Ian Maclaren" or Walter Pater. Providence, therefore, has not strained Mr. McCarthy's buoyant optimism—nor ours. With modern English ritualists he seems, naturally, to have had little to do; while with his great coreligionist, Cardinal Newman, he had but a slight acquaintance. Tennyson's shyness prevented any intimacy in that quarter; but Mr. Hardy is named by our author as a friend, and credited by the indexer, in one of the most ludicrous blunders ever committed by an often blundering profession, with being the writer of the well-known essay "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners." Finally, although Mr. McCarthy knew a few of the Preraphaelites well, he seems not to have been thrown much, if at all, in contact with Mr. Ruskin; nor has he been intimate with many of the later English painters. Yet, after all, this means only that he is human—that even the handshaking of an American President has its limits.

But granting the unusual and interesting scope of these "Reminiscences," what is one to say of Mr. McCarthy's general method of treatment? That he has written easily and genially goes without saying. That he has added very greatly to our knowledge cannot fairly be maintained; but this fact is, perhaps, not of prime consequence in an age prone to lay too much stress upon matter and not enough upon form. More books to charm us and fewer to inform us would probably be good for us all, would at least partly counteract a tendency, marked at present, toward mental induration. But has Mr. McCarthy charmed us?

The answer to this question will vary, of course, with the reader's demands. If any one demands careful analysis of character, pungent criticism, or the distinctly human touch given by the introduction of personal likes and dislikes, he will probably find these volumes far from charming. Mr. McCarthy is too genial an optimist, he has had too good a time shaking hands with his illustrious friends, to please readers afflicted with pessimism or blessed with only a moderate opti-

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mism. He does not paint in subdued colors, and hence offends people with weak, or, as they may think, trained eyes. Subtlety is far from him, and naïve admiration, not to say enthusiasm, is almost always with him. What, then, can our sophistication make of such primitiveness?

But, fortunately, or unfortunately, we are not all sophisticated: indeed, very few of us are. Most of us like our own friends, and are rather glad than otherwise that Mr. McCarthy admires his. And some of us think that people who would be afraid not to assent to St. Paul's praise of that divine virtue, charity, ought, consistently, to forbear to censure a writer who has learned the Apostle's precepts by heart. Mr. McCarthy's optimism is, let us believe, based in the main upon an exquisite spirit of charity. Although he is a Roman Catholic and an Irish Nationalist, although he has been in the midst of many a hard political fight, although he must at times have been given cause for personal feelings of indignation, he has succeeded in writing a long book not only without giving vent to the slightest trace of envy or malice—this is not so very difficult—but without aiming a side thrust at opponents, without reading a lecture, without, save perhaps in one or two cases, furnishing any possible basis for harmful misconception. Such a feat may, of course, be described as the successful attempt of an aging man to balance his accounts with the present world by saying a good word for everybody; but some of us, conscious perhaps that Mr. McCarthy's virtues are not ours, prefer to believe that he has ennobled himself and his race by steeping his book in a rare and genuine charity.

But, if this be true, have we not a right to affirm that Mr. McCarthy has written a charming book? There need be no cant in such a statement. There is a natural charm belonging to pungent criticism, provided it be also true criticism and make for the ideal life; there is also a charm, perhaps a divine charm, in a perfectly charitable presentation of men and events, even though it may not be a realistically true one; for such a presentation makes clearly for that ideal life without the inspiration of which this present life of ours would be paltry and contemptible. It is not to be denied that interest, in the ordinary sense of the term, usually fails to attach to a pervadingly charitable book. But interest is not the only desideratum in literature; and, after all, there is such a thing as interest in a literary phenomenon, which Mr. McCarthy's work undoubtedly is. Perhaps there is a special interest just now to those of us who are tired of the literature of war,

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who do not believe in the gospel of arms, who think that charity and peace are synonymous with civilization, and that over-stressed virility and all magnification of mere physical force are signs of a recrudescence of barbarism. We are glad to read the pages of a writer who can deal with his political opponents without calling them "traitors," who is the better patriot because he is a cosmopolitan, who is the better man because he is at charity with all the world.

But now, having indicated what appears to be the characteristic note of these volumes, let us proceed to examine them more closely. Mr. McCarthy made his first acquaintance with London in February, 1852, when he was just twenty-two years old. It was the familiar story of the young man from the provinces with more of a literary than of a financial equipment. His friends thought that he would be handicapped by the fact that he was "a Catholic in religion and an ardent Irish Nationalist in politics;" but he bears frank testimony to England's lack of bigotry in such matters. Perhaps, however, his genial nature made more than amends for drawbacks that might have seriously hampered another. Be this as it may, our adventurer made a good start by contriving to get glimpses of great men, the mere sight of whom might inspire him. He heard the Duke of Wellington make a speech in the House of Lords, and got a sample of the old hero's forcible profanity—the consequent shock being probably not unsalutary. Two years later, as reporter of a Liverpool newspaper, he heard the clear voice of Mr. Gladstone penetrate to a little corridor behind the Strangers' Gallery; and while he took notes of the speech he could hardly have believed that the future champion of Ireland and his own political friend and leader of the years to come was then, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, delivering in the chamber of the House the Budget Speech that was to establish forever his fame as an orator.

True to his principle of not obtruding himself, our author gives few details of his life in Liverpool or of his transference to London, where he became one of the writers on Bright's paper, "The Morning Star." He prefers to devote a chapter to the men who were "the princes of literature" when he settled in London—to Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, Browning, and Carlyle, with none of whom did he contract a fair acquaintance, save with Browning. He heard Dickens as an after-dinner speaker, however, and he still regards him as the best he ever listened to, ranking Lowell and Chauncey Depew next in order, respectively. The gentleman last named is, by the way, re-

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sponsible for perhaps the brightest page in volumes that depend for their interest rather upon incidents and traits of character than upon anecdotes strictly so called. On one occasion a personage acquainted with our Far West was giving a tedious account of the exploits of himself and his mustang, Lightning Jack, which he alone could ride. At a particularly thrilling point in his narrative—from his own point of view at least—"he said, with dramatic solemnity, 'I dismounted.' 'At a suggestion from Lightning Jack?' Mr. Depew blandly interjected." No such good things are given us from the conversations of Oliver Wendell Holmes, George Henry Lewes, and Mr. Gladstone, the three best talkers Mr. McCarthy ever heard; but, after all, wit and humor do not seem to be necessary, even though they are desirable, ingredients in the higher ranges of conversation and speaking.

Passing from literature to politics, Mr. McCarthy gives a chapter to Cobden, whose absolute sincerity is well brought out by the story that when he had urged, as a reason for refusing office under Palmerston, the fact that he had often described that statesman as the worst Foreign Minister England had ever had, and after Palmerston had urged that one of Cobden's friends already in office had often said just the same thing, Cobden calmly replied, "Yes, but then I meant it." This story, in its essentials, would have fitted John Bright, who is allotted two chapters, and is in many respects the most striking character with whom our author deals, always excepting Mr. Gladstone. And perhaps we have just here one of the chief sources of the interest these volumes possess. There is such an abundance of character, in its best sense, among the various men Mr. McCarthy has been privileged to call his friends. True English "solidity" confronts us everywhere; there is a minimum of levity and shoddyism; mere social or money standards are very little in evidence. It is true that one may suspect that England is not so solid as she was in the days of Bright, any more than America is, as compared with her former self of a generation ago, when Mr. McCarthy first crossed the Atlantic and met Grant and Meade and Longfellow and Holmes and Emerson. But, after all, such inferences are dangerous, in view of the well-known human tendency to imagine that we are receding from the Golden Age instead of approaching it. It is better to profit from the past without drawing invidious comparisons.

It is hard to see how any one can fail to profit from the glimpses given in these pages of Bright, the Tribune of the People. We may not indeed wish his theory to prevail, that no bad characters should be

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admitted into fiction until we are dead and gone ; but we ought all to pray that his principles of pacific and honorable politics may prevail speedily. In remarkable contrast to Bright stands the adventurer, Marshal Prim, one of the most interesting of the figures that fill the chapter on the "Exile-World" of London. When, however, Mr. McCarthy crosses the ocean to lecture for the cause of Ireland, and we find him in conversation with William Cullen Bryant, we cannot fail to perceive that the fame of many a great American rests upon precisely the same basis on which that of Bright and of many another great Englishman rests—the basis of high moral worth.

Space will not permit a detailed account of the six chapters Mr. McCarthy allots to his American experiences of the late sixties and early seventies. Some of the distinguished men he met have been already mentioned : from the others it is hard to make a selection. Perhaps as interesting pages as any are those devoted to John Boyle O'Reilly, whose romantic career has probably become obscure for many readers. Whether, indeed, he was "the most charming man on the American continent" must, of course, remain in doubt; but it is quite certain that few of Mr. McCarthy's countrymen have ever come to us under such remarkable circumstances. O'Reilly, it will be remembered, had been a private in the British army ; and, while thus serving, he had been connected with an abortive Fenian uprising. As he was a favorite with his superiors, his death sentence was commuted to transportation for life to Western Australia. Here he escaped, and took refuge with a savage tribe, whose chief he managed to fascinate. He persuaded his new friends to put him on a raft or boat, and trust him to the mercy of the Pacific. He was picked up by a New Bedford vessel, reached Boston, became a journalist and editor, and died a rich and famous man.

With a country in which such a career as O'Reilly's has been always possible, it is only natural that such a man as Mr. McCarthy should be in almost entire sympathy. As a matter of fact, we have had few more genial visitors than he. Reading his pages, one is tempted to forget that only two generations have elapsed since the days of Mrs. Trollope and Dickens. And Mr. McCarthy was our friend long before the recent *rapprochement*. Of course, as an Irishman he had fewer prejudices to overcome than an Englishman would have had ; but when all allowances are made he must rank among the most sympathetic of the foreigners that have visited us. It is even necessary to discount some of the pleasant things he says about us ;

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but it is by no means necessary to discount his sincerity. Nor is sympathy such as his a trivial matter. It does any people good to have their great men generously appreciated by foreign critics; and such generous critics are usually liberalizing forces in their native countries. Chapters like Mr. McCarthy's may not add much to our knowledge, although some, like that on Brigham Young, will doubtless be found interesting by many Americans; but they surely promote international comity, and in their small way prepare for the advent of that World State which is as yet but the dream of philosophers and poets, but which is also, in reality, the distant goal of the race of men.

On his return to England, in 1871, Mr. McCarthy settled down again to journalistic work and to the life of a literary Bohemian of the higher type. A more strenuous career was ahead of him, however; for it was not long before he was invited to stand for a vacancy in the parliamentary representation of an Irish county. Home Rule agitation was taking a more definite and formidable shape, now that Parnell was about to supplant Isaac Butt as the leader of the Irish patriots. Mr. McCarthy's election meant, therefore, plenty of hard work and excitement for him; but, as we have already seen, it had little or no effect upon his genial temperament. It meant also that the second volume of these "Reminiscences" would deal quite extensively with parliamentary customs and happenings, and with leading members of the various parties and groups. The chapters thus filled are interesting; but it is, perhaps, permissible to regret, not that Mr. McCarthy has been so charitable, but that he has not chosen to give us more details about the fight for Home Rule. Even with Parnell for a subject his method of treatment does not cease to be discursive.

Politicians do not, however, supplant literary people; for Mr. McCarthy never forgets that he is himself a man of letters. George Eliot and George Meredith claim chapters; the latter having been already made the subject of a critical essay by our author, at a time when the English public was not aware that a new novelist of genius was laboring for recognition.

That fresh readers will be won for Meredith by Mr. McCarthy's latest tribute may be doubted; but certainly his chapter on two novelists of talent, Charles Reade and Anthony Trollope, will interest not merely the waning number of their admirers, but the general public as well. Trollope's cleverness in foiling his cross-examiner, Butt, in an important case, will seem strange to those people who think of him only as a man who wrote long novels to order, at the rate of so many

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pages per day. Reade's utter lack of humor and immense conceit will, perhaps, appear stranger still to those unfamiliar with his character; for it seems hardly possible that a sane man could act as he sometimes did. We are told that "he once condescended to the extraordinary littleness of threatening the editor of a paper with the withdrawal of the advertisements of his novels, unless an apology were offered for some depreciating criticism of one of his books." It is only fair to add immediately that while he lifts the veil from Reade's foibles and faults Mr. McCarthy does not do it in an offensive manner, and that he is a true admirer of Reade's abilities, believing him to have been "a man of genius in his own way." In fact, almost the only person for whom abundant sympathy is not displayed in these pages is Charles Kingsley, a man who to some of us is an attractive figure, to whom much injustice has been done since his unfortunate encounter with Newman. That this encounter has prejudiced Mr. McCarthy we are not prepared to believe; yet we do not think that he was his genial self when he wrote about Kingsley, and we wish that he had suppressed the pages.

But it is time to bring this article to a close. We must therefore pass over several interesting chapters, and barely refer to a few others. The treatment of Lord Randolph Churchill is very sympathetic—incomprehensibly so to some of us. Still, Mr. McCarthy is not unique in this, as any one who happened to be in London at the time of the young statesman's sad death will readily recall. One could then read column upon column in the newspapers, and anxiously question one's acquaintances, without beginning to discover wherein the secret of Lord Churchill's greatness lay. So one can read Mr. McCarthy's chapter without discovering it; although one does learn that the stories told about Lord Churchill's astounding ignorance upon many subjects are to be balanced against stories that show him to have been possessed of some native wit and humor. A pendant to this sympathetic chapter is found in the one devoted to a rehabilitation of Prince Napoleon ("Plon-Plon"). Mr. McCarthy's success in the latter task must be determined by specially qualified students; but it is open to any one to say that his chapter is very interesting. We are all tempted, perhaps, to have a peculiar hero of our own, whom the world has more or less ignored; but it takes more than an average amount of courage or insight or both to stand up for the man of our choice as Mr. McCarthy does for his. "I could only maintain," he says, apropos of a discussion about great men carried on at a friend's house, "that Prince Napo-

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leon had impressed me more than any other man I had known with a sense of great intellectual capacity, of extended and varied information, and of almost limitless possibilities for public success." We have already seen what numbers of distinguished men, beginning with Gladstone, Mr. McCarthy has met. His tribute to Prince Napoleon cannot therefore lack interest, even if, as is likely, it fails to convince many readers.

We may conclude, as we began, by laying stress upon the remarkable scope of these volumes, their general interest, their urbane and charitable tone, the light they throw upon English character, and their service to the cause of international comity. They are fully worthy of the notice they have already attracted—more worthy than the average "book of the hour" is wont to be. They deserve a better fate than to be read merely with the idle curiosity of those who are always seeking some new thing, or are longing to be brought into even remote contact with notabilities—especially of foreign extraction. They deserve to be read on account of their moral tone, on account of the spirit of charity that pervades them. They may or may not be of much service to serious students, present or future; but the prime test of a book is its service to men and women—not to students. So far as his contemporaries are concerned, Mr. McCarthy's book stands this test well.

W. P. TRENT.

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